

if you had continued to find yourself in other than disruptive relations to the Party. And when I say disruptive I use the phrase here with respect to the effect and not to intent.

"I have just one suggestion to make now, and I confess that I have little faith either in your willingness to abide by that suggestion, or even in its ultimate usefulness, but in order to leave no stone unturned to effect, if possible, harmony within the Section, I hereby offer you this *modus operandi* out of the present 'mess':

"First of all, that you withdraw your charges against the two comrades. Secondly, that you tender a formal apology to the Section collectively, and to the members individually for your utterly improper conduct in the past and present. Thirdly, that you withdraw unqualifiedly the libelous and slanderous designations applied to loyal Party members in Section Minneapolis. Finally, that you utterly sever relations with reform bodies (be they members of your own family or not) and dedicate yourself wholeheartedly to the propagation of S. L. P. principles, and S. L. P. principles alone. If you find these terms too harsh, I predict that you will find membership in the Socialist Labor Party too severe a task for your frail shoulders.

"There is little more that I need to say, but perhaps one or two points in your letter of March 30 ought to be covered. You continue to insist that this Unitarian Society is at least partly religious because, as you put it, 'the great majority of addresses, after all, are on religious subjects and a good half of the

membership are ultra conservative when it comes to politics.' This is as if one would say that a stand-pat Republican group, which is committed to the propagation of atheism, is substantially a religious body because their preoccupation is with religion and with conservatism!

"You state in your letter: 'From your letter I am ready to believe that personal failings do not much matter as long as the members in question are loyal and clear as to Party principles.' This is not the attitude of the Party. Everything, of course, depends upon the nature of the 'personal failings.' Generally speaking, I can say this, that as between a Party member who is disloyal and fraternizes with disrupters, and who is otherwise the soul of puritanical self-righteousness, on the one hand—and Party members who are loyal and sincere to the core, and who otherwise carry on Party activities as is expected of Party members, and who may have what is regarded as human failings, on the other hand—the latter will without question be preferred. As much as possible human failings must be corrected, and if these human failings reach the proportion of public scandals, then such an individual, no matter how loyal or hard-working he may be, must be removed from the Party's ranks. At this point I should like to quote what De Leon once said on a related point: 'The Socialist Labor Party demands a moral conduct from its members. The member who scandalizes morality would find it uncomfortable in Socialist Labor Party ranks.' The important point to bear in mind in connection with comrades who have these 'human

failings' is that if they are loyal and sincere, they can as a rule be quietly removed from the Party without creating a rupture in the organization. If the comrades to whom you refer are addicted to the sort of practices which you cite (and after all I have only your word for that now), then the Section could easily have remedied this defect by disciplining these members as and when the occasion arose, and if that did not avail, then charges should have been preferred if that were necessary. As a rule, however, in the case of members who have these 'human failings' it is seldom necessary to resort to the drastic means of preferring charges. Usually they can be eliminated without any particular excitement or formal charges.

"I am sending a copy of this letter to the organizer of Section Minneapolis. If you persist in your present attitude there is nothing that the Section can do except to act on your charges and dispose of them as soon as possible. If these charges are not disposed of before the convention meets, it means that Comrade Foy, the duly elected delegate to the convention, and so far as anyone knows, a thoroughly loyal and fully posted S. L. P. member, will be prevented from attending the convention. In this case the alternate delegate who, I believe, is Comrade Samuel Johnson, will be called upon to serve. If, again, you persist in your attitude, it becomes necessary for me to advise Section Minneapolis that the charges preferred against you by Comrade Ryan cannot be entertained by the Grievance Committee until your charges against Comrades Foy and Sacridier have been disposed of. No counter-

charges are permitted in a Section, and least of all where turmoil appears to be the rule rather than the exception. I trust that Section Minneapolis will rise to this occasion and act upon the charges preferred against Comrades Foy and Sacridier in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to its collective wisdom and understanding in matters pertaining to the S. L. P.

"In conclusion, let me add here that my sole object in answering your letter of March 8 at such great length was to aid in straightening out what you regarded, and what did appear to be a 'mess' in Section Minneapolis—a mess largely precipitated by you through your association with disrupters and reformers. I certainly would have given very little time to discuss questions of religion or reform with you as an individual member. No individual member can be so important that the National Organization should disrupt its regular activities for a considerable length of time in order to straighten him or her out on this or that point. I feel constrained to make this point for the reason that indications are not wanting that my writing you on March 16 may be or possibly has been misconstrued.

"Finally, allow me to apologize for having quoted you as having said 'incurable drunkard' instead of 'habitual drunkard.'

"Fraternally yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

Charges and counter-charges have been filed, but it is hoped that the Section may be able to straighten this matter out without intervention by the National Organization.

Organization Procedure.

Too often Sections and members reveal ineptness in the handling of disturbances or matters that need proper settlement locally. It all proceeds from lack of familiarity with the constitution, its letter as well as its spirit. Obviously it is impossible to clutter up the constitution with matters that should be understood as being implicit in organization procedure. Thus, for example, financial secretaries have been known to accept so-called back dues from individuals who had been dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues. As has already been pointed out, a member, once he is dropped, is no more a member than one who has never been a member. Then there is the matter of electing alternate delegates to conventions. It has recently come to our attention that alternates have been considered elected on the basis of the votes they received as rejected delegates. In other words, if four delegates and four alternates were to be elected, the four receiving the highest number of votes were properly enough, declared delegates, and the four next in order were considered elected as alternates. In short, members receiving as low as two votes, or even one vote, might, according to this viewpoint, serve as alternates. That the election of alternates is as important as the election of delegates goes without saying, since they may serve as delegates, and should therefore be voted upon separately. Again, in the election of N. E. C. members, sometimes very strange ideas are voiced with respect to the reasons which prompt members to vote for one or

the other candidate. Thus one Section wrote to the National Office recently stating that 'the comrades generally vote for the one who lives nearest to New York in order to save Party expense.' As the National Secretary pointed out in his reply, this is one of the most dangerous procedures that can be pursued. The sole consideration to be brought to bear in connection with election of N. E. C. members, or any responsible post for that matter, should be the comrade's qualifications and a thorough understanding of Party principles, Party discipline and Party organization in general. In trying to save the Party expense by voting for comrades for important posts for such reasons as the one mentioned, the membership would be quite apt to pile up a tremendous expense, in membership as well as in finances, against the Party some time in the future.

Recently a Section on the Pacific Coast failed to take proper action against a member who had fallen under a cloud. The Section decided to defer acceptance of his resignation for six months, pending further developments. When a member tenders his resignation, it must be accepted or rejected. If rejected, the member must be placed under charges, assuming that rejection was based on some wrong committed by the member. The individual in question went to a Section in another state and wanted to join that Section. This particular Section received information regarding the status of this individual, and in spite of the fact that the Section was warned by the National Office that the person in question must not be admitted until released by his for-

mer Section, he was admitted anyway. Later it was found out that this fellow was a highly suspicious character, in league with enemies of the Party, whereupon he was promptly expelled. The N. E. C. Executive Committee subsequently administered a vote of censure on the Section. If this individual had been handled correctly by the first Section, this disgrace would not have overtaken the second Section, though the mistake of the former could not, of course, serve as a justification for the latter.

Occasionally loyal S. L. P. members will attend meetings arranged by expelled disrupters of the Party on the excuse that they want to witness their foolish doings, or for some obscure reasons. This is wrong, and should be considered as giving aid and comfort to enemies of the Party. For disrupters will surely boast of the fact that S. L. P. men attend the meetings of these disrupters, and sometimes, as has happened, even when the Party is holding lectures at the same time. For an S. L. P. man to consort with traitors or renegades in any manner, or for any reason, is to hold in contempt his own Party. An outstanding example of this kind is in the case of the disrupter Bargery (of the Seidel-Richter incident) with whom a member of Section Minneapolis to some extent fraternized. Another incident has been reported which brings out the impropriety of such conduct. In a mid-western Section a comrade was visited by a notorious expelled disrupter, who, however, did not know that the one he visited was a member of the S. L. P. nor was the fact revealed to him. On the contrary, it

was pretended that he was not in order to have the disrupter speak freely. In the "Ten Canons of the Proletarian Revolution," formulated by De Leon, double dealing, and dealing in a double sense, are definitely outlawed. S. L. P. men and women fight in the open, using no masks or disguises. Let the enemies do that if they choose.

It is not to be expected that men become perfect because they join the S. L. P. Allowance must be made for human failings, but repeated offenses against order and common decency should not be tolerated. We have, unfortunately, had the painful experience of an S. L. P. member appearing at Party functions under the influence of liquor. When that sort of thing is repeated, it should be sufficient to bar such a one from ever speaking for the Party again, and it should be regarded as desirable to eliminate him from the Party. From time to time, though on the whole on rare occasions, we have had the experience of a member making a practice of borrowing from other members, or attempts have been made to get a member or members to invest funds in this or that undertaking. Usually such individuals are quickly eliminated from our ranks. The S. L. P. should prove a very inhospitable, and naturally unprofitable, hunting ground for stock promoters, dealers in confidence games, or swindlers of any description be they of the common garden variety or shysters of the legal fraternity. And the surest way of repelling and driving out such things if or when they crop out, is by flat refusals to have anything to do with them, even if the promoter carries credentials from the

imperial high-mighty-ness himself! It is not enough to say that the Party is not responsible, that the individual is himself to blame if he gets "stung." True as that is, it is also true that that sort of thing creates ruction and discord in the Party. Nor is it any excuse to say that this has happened only once or twice, or that the offense itself was small, or any of the many similar excuses which may be offered. Such excuses are too reminiscent of the young woman in the story De Leon once told in a Letter Box answer. This young woman, according to De Leon, had become a mother without benefit of clergy or legal formality and when upbraided by her mother she pleaded: "But, mother, it is only such a leetle bit of a baby." We are approaching a revolutionary crisis, when men and women of unquestioned integrity will be needed, and when it becomes a thousand times more important than ever for one S. L. P. member to be able fully to trust the other. Let us lay down as a moral code of ethics never to do anything in personal matters, and in relation with fellow-members, that we would not do to or against the principles of the Party. If we adopt such a code we can never go far wrong.

The International Movement.

Uppermost in the minds of all true Marxists is the question of Socialist progress in Soviet Russia. Slowly, but surely, the industrial machine in Russia is being built up. The *Economic Review of the Soviet Union* reports in a recent issue startling progress in all important

lines. The following paragraphs are illuminating:

"The steady and rapid advance of Soviet economy during recent years together with the sharp decline in industrial production in other countries, has resulted in the Soviet Union occupying second place both as regards national income and volume of industrial output. In 1928 the national income of the U.S.S.R. that is, the net income of all branches of national economy, totaled 37.8 billion rubles (\$19.5 billion), in 1926-27 prices, or 28 billion rubles in pre-war prices. This was nearly double the 1913 figure, 14 billion rubles, and exceeded the pre-crisis figure in Germany, Great Britain and France.

"According to data issued by the German Economic Research Institute, the U. S. S. R., which in 1928 occupied fifth place in volume of industrial output, coming after the United States, Germany, Great Britain and France, had by July 1, 1931, outdistanced the two latter countries and attained third place. Various analyses of world economic conditions by Soviet economists, which have appeared recently in the Soviet press, provide supplementary data of a later date. By August industrial production of the Soviet Union already exceeded that of Germany and was second only to the United States. While in 1928 the share of the United States in the world industrial output was nearly ten times that of the U. S. S. R., by October of last year it was only about three times.

"By the end of 1931 the U.S.S.R. held first place as regards output of timber and peat, second place in the production of oil and agricultural

machinery, third place for pig iron and the machine-building industry as a whole, and fourth place in coal, steel and electrical products.

Since 1922, when Soviet industry began to recover from the effects of the years of war and intervention, industrial output has recorded steady and rapid gains. The pre-war volume of production was reached in 1926-27 and was more than doubled by 1930. In 1931 production was two and one-half times the pre-war volume and about twelve and one-half times the 1922 output, while for many individual industries the ratios were even higher. The average annual rate of increase for the nine years from 1922 to 1931 was 33.5 per cent. The Soviet Union not only established an exceptionally high rate of development during the early years of industrial recovery, but maintained a constant and relatively high rate of gain even after the pre-war volume of production had been attained."

It is admitted that in production of electric power the Soviet Union still lags far behind the other leading industrial nations. But even so, progress is recorded. The electrification of Soviet Russia within a decade was one of Lenin's dreams. It will have taken more than a decade when it is completed, but there can be no doubt as to the final outcome if the working class remains in power, especially if eventually normal trade relations are established with the United States. Recently a strong clamor for recognition of Soviet Russia on the ground of national self-interest has been made by certain powerful capitalist newspapers, and the industrial groups which they speak for. Even so con-

servative a paper as the *New York Times*, through its special correspondent, admits that Soviet Russia has to be reckoned with. Not so long ago this special correspondent wrote:

"Foreign specialists particularly can see defects in Soviet practice and talk about them freely, but there is hardly one who thinks any longer that the system itself is defective. Foreign diplomats on the whole, from reasons of personal position, training and outlook on life, have not been sympathetic toward the Bolshevist experiment. But as months pass and conditions abroad grow worse they, too, are almost unanimous in admitting that knowing what you want and devoting all energies to try it is better than the conflict of opposing theories prevalent elsewhere."

And he added:

"Today in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics there are 23,000,000 children at school compared with 7,000,000 before the war; 70 per cent of the population above 10 years old can read and write, compared with 25 per cent before the war, and last, but not least, two-fifths of all factory workers throughout the country attend after-work classes for technical instruction."

There is, then, general agreement as to the facts regarding the industrial and educational progress made. On the attitude toward the international movement, however, there has been absolutely no progress—at least none discernible. The same old fatuous policies, the same stereotyped and utterly archaic reference to tactics, still survive, and are as faithfully reflected in the burlesque imitations of the Russian Commun-

ist party in other countries. As yet, with respect to the attitude of the Russians toward the movement in such countries as the United States of America, Marx and Lenin have lived in vain so far as these Russians are concerned. The S. L. P. is treated as the revolutionary movement in general is treated by the powers that be—that is, by either misrepresenting its principles, or by a stony silence. We know now that to some extent this is due to the presence in Russia of renegades who have never been able to forgive the Party that it convicted them of treason to De Leonism when this element sought to steer the S. L. P. into the camp of the treacherous and corrupt bourgeois S. P. One of our members who visited Russia last summer reported to the National Office that he had met one of these renegades in Leningrad, one Max Eisenberg, formerly N. E. C. member and a staunch defender of the wretched Seidel. This gentleman instantly launched into an attack on the Party, and a bitter personal attack on the present National Secretary of the S. L. P. Among other fancies and whimsies which Mr. Eisenberg manufactured, the following may serve as a sample: "Petersen [he said] was licked in regard to dictatorship at some discussion in 1926." Just what the precise meaning of that cryptic statement may be is not clear, but as a sample of stupid and vicious personal enmity and impotent hatred of the S.L.P., it will serve as well as any.

It will be recalled that an article by one L. G. Raisky on the significance of De Leon and his struggle against opportunism in the American labor movement, was printed serial-

ly in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Raisky, by the way, is said to live in the same house with the above mentioned Eisenberg. Let us stick to the point there, as De Leon would say. The National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party had for some time prior to the publishing of this essay been in correspondence with Raisky, having even received from the latter a copy of the Russian edition of his essay on De Leon. Copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE containing the reprint were sent to Raisky as a matter of courtesy. Some time after these were sent, a letter was received from him which is reproduced herewith:

"Leningrad, U. S. S. R.
"Nov. 25, 1931.

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"Secretary S. L. P.
"New York, N. Y.
"U. S. A.

"I categorically forbid you to print my article on De Leon, which appeared in the *Communist*. I take this opportunity to emphatically protest against your reprinting a part of my article to which I neither gave my consent to, nor can I consent to.

"This article presents a part of my work on De Leon and for this reason touches only one problem, namely the struggle of De Leon with Opportunism.

"This article does not entirely cover the erroneous side of De Leonism. In addition this article does now [not?] show how the contemporary S. L. P. continues stubbornly to persist in these mistakes and for this reason has kept itself away from the international revolutionary working class movement.

Due to the fact that the S. L. P. did not recognize the principles of Leninism (Bolshevism) it has entered objectively the camp of the counter revolution.

The editorial foreword to my article reprinted in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, contained a foolish insinuation, namely, that it would appear that some of the Russian Bolsheviks are beginning to look upon the present S. L. P. with favor. This of course is no more or less than political charlatanism comparable to the manner of Tammany Hall.

Not wishing to enter into any quarrels with you, I demand that you print this letter in the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"L. Reisky
"(Signed) L. Raisky."

One's first reaction to such a scurrilous note would naturally be one of anger, which, however, was bound to be replaced by feelings of pity mingled with amusement. The reply written to Raisky by the National Secretary meets his "objections," and at the same time restates the Party's attitude toward the so-called Third International, for which reason it is reproduced here. The reply follows:

"March 16, 1932.

Mr. L. G. Raisky,
Baburin, Pereulik,
Bldg. 4, Apt. 25,
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.
Dear Sir:

Some time ago I received your letter dated Nov. 25, 1931. For several reasons I have delayed answering you, among the most important being that I was preparing several

new publications for the press, including your article on Daniel De Leon. I had promised myself the pleasure of giving you the castigation which you so richly deserve, and the instruction which you so badly needed, but the delay was inevitable.

"You commence your letter with the following hysterical outburst: 'I categorically forbid you to print my article on De Leon, which appeared in the *Communist*. Your 'categorical' ukase is unceremoniously rejected. Moreover, when you wrote that, you knew as a matter of fact that we had already reprinted your article, for just a little further down you say in your letter: 'The editorial foreword to my article reprinted in the WEEKLY PEOPLE.....' Why this foolish ex post facto, and utterly ineffective prohibition? Whom are you seeking to impress with this boyish bravado? Surely not your present correspondent to whom you even sent the original Russian edition of your De Leon article—in fact you stated: 'I am pleased to send the above [De Leon article] to you.'

"Your article has just been printed by us in a pamphlet of 48 pages. I am, indeed, very pleased to send you a copy herewith. I shall do more than that—I shall send copies to as many papers and libraries as possible in U. S. S. R., and elsewhere for that matter. You will thus discover that gratitude on our part for your original kindness — though considerably marred by your later gross insolence and forced stupidity—is by no means wanting.

"In all ordinary circumstances one would answer a letter as scurrilous as yours with that silence

which most forcefully expresses true contempt. However, an opportunity for speaking our mind for once having been presented to the Socialist Labor Party, it seems wasteful not to seize it and make the most of it. I propose, then, to use your letter as the means of restating our position. I shall take up your letter and first deal with the several parts separately—the contradictions, the scurrilous parts and the rather forced imbecilities which it contains. You say:

"This article does not entirely cover the erroneous side of De Leonism. In addition this article does now [not?] show how the contemporary S. L. P. continues stubbornly to persist in these mistakes and for this reason has kept itself away from the international revolutionary working class movement."

"How charmingly naive! And what a familiar ring that statement has. It sounds, indeed, exactly like the comments of the average capitalist professor on the works of Marx. Many of these, you know, pretend to find much that is good in Marx, who would be a perfect gentleman were it not for his 'unfortunate errors' with regard to the law of value, extraction of surplus value, etc., etc. Anyway, it will be as entertaining to learn about the 'erroneous side of De Leonism' as in the past it was to learn about the 'erroneous side' of Marxism."

"When you declare that the 'contemporary S. L. P. continues stubbornly to persist [sic] in these mistakes, etc.,' you are talking nonsense. You are repeating ready-made formulae which have been supplied you by the Anarchists who are masquerading here as Communists."

Note this: Neither you nor any of your fellow Russians possess the Marxian learning, and still less the understanding of American capitalism, which would qualify you to function as critics of the Socialist Labor Party of America. The only man thus far who had the Marxian learning and the brains to understand, to a considerable extent at least, the nature of full-grown capitalism, and the requirements for the social revolution in fully developed industrial countries, was Lenin. Read his works carefully, and you may avoid making such a ridiculous exhibition of yourself.

"As for the S. L. P.'s keeping 'itself away from the international revolutionary working class movement,' where is that movement? You cannot possibly mean the counter-parts of the Anarchists who in this country call themselves Communists. This group of simpletons, agents provocateurs and madmen had better be referred to as the second line of defense of American capitalism, the first line being the A. F. of L. and its ally the Socialist party. As a sample of the madness of this group in the United States I enclose herewith an article dealing with some of their recent antics. I sincerely hope you will secure the three campaign booklets referred to. They should furnish you with a wealth of data on opportunism in the so-called labor movement of America. But fear not—when there is a real international Marxian movement, the S. L. P. will be at the head and front of it, with Soviet Russia in the rear, as befits a country of such low economic development."

"Scurrility is indeed mixed with

cheerfulness when you say that:

"Due to the fact that the S. L. P. did not recognize the principles of Leninism (Bolshevism) it has entered objectively the camp of the counter-revolution."

"Are you really so ignorant that you do not know that Lenin himself recognized De Leonism as the only addition to Marxism since Marx? You are not ignorant of it, for you quote Reed's statement in your article. How can you write such nonsense, altogether contrary to your own better knowledge? Leninism, if it means anything, means Marxism applied to Russia, that is to a country economically backward. De Leonism means Marxism applied to the United States, that is to a country economically the most advanced to date. It is from the United States that revolutionary directions, and eventually instructions, will proceed. Eventually you in Russia will do what we, the De Leon-Marxists in U. S., tell you to do. You would do well not to forget that; even though you have forgotten, if you ever understood it, the warning implied in the Horatian passage quoted by Marx: 'De te fabula narratur.' ('Change the name and the story is told of you.') You speak of counter-revolution. Do you know that the last American counter-revolutionist died upward of one hundred years ago? The future counter-revolutionists will include the precious bunch of Anarchists and reformers (your so-called American Communists) who now so persistently aid the capitalist reaction in keeping the workers in ignorance of revolutionary Marxian principles. But nonsensical as is your reference to 'counter-revolution,' its

slandrous implication is apparent enough. Don't you feel a bit cheap repeating such obvious kindergarten stuff?

"You further say:

"The editorial foreword to my article reprinted in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, contained a foolish insinuation, namely, that it would appear that some of the Russian Bolsheviks are beginning to look upon the present S. L. P. with favor. This of course is no more or less than political charlatanism comparative to the manner of Tammany Hall."

"At the present stage it is a matter of no importance to us whatever whether 'some of the Russian Bolsheviks are beginning to look upon the present S. L. P. with favor.' In fact, in view of the 'Russian Bolsheviks' complete lack of understanding of capitalism in this country, and their obvious inability to apply Marxian science to the development here, it might be a cause for self-criticism if the scientific S. L. P. met with 'the favor' of these 'Bolsheviks.' We should probably feel that there was something wrong with us. What we are looking for is not 'favor' but intelligent understanding."

"To get the full flavor of it, I repeat here your contemptible and unbelievably imbecile slander against the Party which Lenin hailed repeatedly as the only revolutionary Party in America: 'This of course is no more or less than political charlatanism [sic] comparative [sic] to the manner of Tammany Hall.' I will do you the honor of supposing that that phrase was made in U.S., and that you were ordered to use it. It savors too much of the slum-

proletarianism of the American Anarcho-Communist to ascribe it to you who, in your De Leon article, gave indication of being fairly cultured, not without scholarship, and apparently decent.

"You conclude by saying:

"Not wishing to enter into any polemics with you, I demand that you print this letter in the WEEKLY PEOPLE."

"No, you certainly do not want to enter into polemics with me. For if you desired to do that, you would not resort to such cheap and contemptible billingsgate and scurrility. You would marshal your facts and your arguments, and above all you would cease to act, most unnaturally for you, I believe, as a moron and a mechanical robot.

"One naturally asks oneself: In view of your previous courtesy and decency, what is the explanation of this extraordinary change in your conduct, this present lack of common decency, of common sense? I think I can supply the answer, which divides itself into two main parts.

"First: The Russian Communist party decided very early, and quite naturally so, that a new International had to be organized. The revolutionary world leadership having for the moment fallen to the Russian Bolshevik party, it was natural that the initiative, or at least the inspiration, should come from Russia. Hence, the so-called Third International. The Second International had been notoriously loose, so much so that there was, in fact, nothing to that International except the series of congresses held which at best were nothing more than debating societies at which little was done ex-

cept to focus, for the time being, the attention of the world upon the *ideal* of the worldwide Socialist movement, that is, its aspiration to become a real International organ for the emancipation of the working class. That International recognized that differences in the social, economic and cultural status of the various countries rendered it necessary to leave it to the different countries to work out their particular problems in their own way, and to adapt their tactics in accordance with the conditions obtaining in these countries. Conditions in semi-feudal European countries impelled the Socialist movements in these countries to become protagonists, not merely for the workers, but also for the so-called liberal bourgeoisie which was striving to complete the political emancipation of capitalism and to remove the remaining trammels of feudalism. Hence, the Socialist movement in these countries (characteristically enough called the Social Democratic parties became *popular movements* in their widest sense, including the bourgeois conceptions of democracy. As a consequence of these circumstances these movements attained a numerical strength far beyond what they would have attained had they remained strictly Marxian or working class movements. This quantity, obviously obtained at the expense of quality, created the illusion of working class success. The bourgeois motto 'nothing succeeds like success' became the rallying cry, and at the same time the intended silencer of all protests from the strictly Marxian elements in the Second International, notably if not almost exclusively the Social-

ist Labor Party movements in America, Australia, South Africa and Great Britain. In the United States the bourgeois Socialist party, patterned chiefly after the German Social Democracy, imitating the forms and echoing parrot-like the slogans and phrases of the German party, attracted to itself large numbers of bourgeois liberals, bourgeois writers, lawyers and what not, with here and there sections of raw and untutored working class elements. But what in Germany furnished a considerable degree of justification for 'popularizing' (in a bourgeois sense) the movement, was obviously lacking entirely here. The discontented bourgeois elements here, far from being carriers of progress as was the case to some extent in Germany and continental Europe in general, were the tag, rag and bobtail of the middle and lower capitalist layers, that is, the bankrupt sections of the lower capitalist class, hence ultra-reactionary and totally without vision, but naturally in rebellion against 'Big Business' and inspired with the hope of once again climbing back on the capitalist Jugger-naut of exploitation.

"Remembering this looseness of organization in the Second International, but ignoring the reasons for same, the Russian Bolsheviks decided to form an International with iron-clad rules and discipline. This would perhaps have worked if this International had been modeled in line with a highly developed industrial country, that is, in keeping with the nature of international capitalism. But unfortunately one of the most industrially backward countries (Russia) was taken as a model. The peculiar conditions in

Russia, and the requirements of revolutionary success in pre-Soviet Russia, furnished the inspiration for the new International, with results even more incongruous than under the Second International. For however much that International was moulded by the conditions in semi-feudal European countries its very looseness made it possible for more revolutionary groups to remain parts of it without surrendering their principles or physical integrity. In the case of the Third International, however, it was: Take it or leave it, that is to say, the leaders of the Third International (chiefly, I believe, the Zinovieff element) formulated programs and tactics which, almost to the last detail, reflected the economic conditions in Russia, and the corresponding tactics and policies. What in continental Europe (and particularly in the most backward countries) constituted a realistic program, here became an opera bouffe, a truly burlesque bolshevism. For the serious Marxists to have fallen in line with such a vaudeville performance would, obviously, have meant to surrender every vestige of revolutionary integrity, not to speak of scientific clarity, and sense of realism—a surrender, moreover, to a raw undisciplined element which had received its training and inspiration in the corrupt 'Socialist party' and the Anarcho-Syndicalist I. W. W. There was only one thing the Marxian Socialist Labor Party could do, and that was to reject in its entirety this compound of anarcho-bourgeois notions and tactics offered through the so-called Third International. And this, incidentally, is the reason why the S. L. P. has kept itself away from the

international revolutionary working class movement,' as you so naively and rhetorically put it.

"Now then, having never understood, because having never applied the touchstone of Marxian dialectics to the situation, the Russian Communists subsequent to Lenin have looked askance at the S. L. P. In defiance of all Marxian precepts you Russians have insisted that industrial America must mirror agricultural Russia, whereas every sound Marxist understands that the backward country must necessarily mirror the advanced country (again 'De te fabula....!')—that is, it must see in the highly developed country the image of its own future, and not vice versa. This is so simple, so elementary that it seems incredible that so few Europeans have understood it. Yet, instead of recognizing in the Marxian S. L. P. its logical counterpart in super-industrial America, the Russian Communists (excluding Lenin) fancied themselves kin to the riff-raff of petty bourgeois adventurers, Anarcho-Syndicalists, out and out Anarchists, and all the rest of the slum elements that a healthy movement naturally expels and repels—fancied a kinship merely because these elements, as unprincipled as they are unscrupulous, as ignorant as they are brazen and persistent, parrot-like repeat slogans and phrases which may have a meaning in Russia, but which become absurd and utterly grotesque in this country.

"Lenin, however, saw the situation somewhat clearer, though even his vision was blurred by reason of his dwelling in the valleys of capitalism instead of enjoying the vista

made possible by viewing capitalism from its summit. Repeatedly Lenin referred to the Socialist Labor Party as one of the truly Marxian groups in the international labor movement. Merely as a matter of record let me cite the following. In his letter to Alexandra Kollontai, March 16, 1917, Lenin said:

"'Never again along the lines of the Second International! Never again with Kautsky! By all means a more revolutionary programme and more revolutionary tactics. (K. Liebknecht, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, the Dutch Marxists, etc., show elements of such programme and tactics)...'

"In his 'Tasks of the Proletariat in Revolution' Lenin again said: 'Closest to the Internationalists are in the United States, the Socialist Labor Party and certain elements of the opportunist Socialist party....' In a resolution drafted by Lenin at the All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor party, May 1917, the Socialist Labor Party is again recognized as a revolutionary movement. 'The revolutionary Internationalists who have started a struggle against the war in all countries in spite of martial law and an iron-clad regime [include] the Socialist Labor Party in the United States....' And so on. I do not mention Lenin's acknowledgments of the revolutionary character of the S. L. P. because Lenin's judgment one way or the other determined the status of the S. L. P., but merely to show that you lack the understanding which Lenin (partially, at least) possessed concerning the Socialist Labor Party, and because it proves that you and your

followers are not in accord with Lenin, any more than you are on the question of transition period and Proletarian Dictatorship' in advanced capitalist countries.

However, due to a number of factors (included among these being Lenin's protracted illness and untimely death, and the inability of Lenin's followers to apply Marxian dialectics to American conditions) the anarcho-opportunist element was recognized as the revolutionary element (save the mark!) in this country, with all the tragedy and burlesque comedy which resulted from this fundamental error. Having once committed itself to this false position and the disastrous policy involved, the Russians have found themselves in the position of the man who holds on to the tail of a runaway horse: If he holds on he is wrecked, if he lets go he is crushed against the ground. Or in the position of the gambler on the stock Exchange: When his stocks go down, he throws good money after bad in a desperate attempt to save it. To take the most charitable view of the matter, it might be said that the Russian Communist party, having staked its reputation on this anarcho-slum element, masquerading here as a Communist party, feels (mistakenly, as we see it) that it cannot afford to repudiate the outfit. But whatever may be the precise reasons for the attitude of the Russians, one thing is certain, and that is that in recognizing and supporting this anarcho-bourgeois-slum element in this country, the country (Soviet Russia) which ought to furnish revolutionary inspiration to the proletariat everywhere, has given the heaviest support to one of the

most insidious, and therefore dangerous, foes of the proletarian revolution.

"This, then, is the first part of the answer. For it is clear that despite your somewhat clearer understanding of De Leon's importance to the revolutionary working class movement, you share, on the whole, the superstitions and prejudices of your fellow Russians with regard to the revolutionary movement outside Russia.

"The second part of the answer concerns itself more particularly with the pettier aspects of the human equation. It is unquestionably true that revolutionary discipline requires the subordination of the individual to the movement. But this subordination can be physical only when reason rebels against disciplinary action. In other words, although the revolutionist must yield to the decisions of the organization even though in disagreement, he does so merely in the sense that he ceases any obstructive tactics which led to the disciplinary action, continuing his support of the Party as a whole. He does not, and must not, yield his revolutionary, his intellectual integrity. For to do that means stultification and debasement of character. The most that revolutionary discipline may exact in this respect is abstention from counter activities, and *silence as to points* in dispute. It cannot require that the individual must debase himself by speaking contrary to his own mature judgment and what he feels is his better knowledge. Yet, there is ample evidence that this is precisely what you have done. To repeat what I said before, you were, to begin with, the soul of courtesy in your

letters to me, even to the extent of furnishing me with your essay in the original Russian. Then your essay on De Leon appeared in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and for months I heard nothing from you, not even an acknowledgment, let alone thanks for the numerous pamphlets, etc., which on your special request I sent you in May 1931. During the summer of 1931 one of our members visited Russia, and when he returned he informed me that in Leningrad he had met an S. L. P. renegade who, like Reinstein, had done his utmost to disrupt the Socialist Labor Party for the benefit of the corrupt Social Democratic Socialist party before he went to Russia. This individual stated that he knew you well, you and he being located in the same building. He stated further to our member (who knew his informant well, having been members of the same S. L. P. Section in the United States) that you were away on a vacation, but that on your return you were cited to appear before your party to answer certain charges in connection with the appearance of your essay in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. And it was made clear that you were headed for a lot of trouble, and that ahead of you there lay a disagreeable journey to Canossa. The only point that I could see to these charges was that you had furnished me with a copy of your article in the original Russian. But why was that so terrible? *Because having the original Russian we were able to prove that the so-called Communist party in the United States (in keeping with its record of scoundrelism) had suppressed passages of your article in the translation that was made for*

the magazine, the Communist. You had, unwittingly, aided us in exposing the corruption and unscrupulousness of the spy-ridden Anarchist Communist outfit which is dragging through the mire the honored names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and other revolutionary thinkers. Therein, apparently, lay your monstrous crime. And for this you were to be disciplined. Apparently part of the discipline consisted in this: that you were to denounce us most vehemently (despite your natural friendliness and probably even fraternal regard for us), so that no taint of collaboration with American Marxists might attach to you! Hence your silly, denunciatory letter with its absurd slanders and lies against the S. L. P.

"I believe the foregoing fully accounts for your changed attitude, and it accounts for the general attitude of the Russian Communists toward the Socialist Labor Party. As for the rest I refer you, first, to our pamphlet edition of your article on De Leon, and secondly, to one of our recent pamphlets 'Proletarian Democracy vs. Dictatorships and Despotism.' In the former you will find several annotations which expose your lack of understanding of certain Marxian fundamentals as applied to advanced capitalist countries, and also a few pen-portraits of S. L. P. renegades who, while in the S. L. P. carried on a constant flirtation with the bourgeois S. P. while in Russia they were, first, Mensheviks, and later conformed and became ardent Bolsheviks. In the latter pamphlet you will find a treatment of the related subjects of 'Proletarian Dictatorship' and Industrial Unionism. If you would ap-

ply to American conditions the scientific principle, that the important thing is not to discover differences in things that look alike, but on the contrary, that the important thing is to discover the likenesses in things that seem to look different, you might begin to understand why the seemingly different S. L. P. is essentially like the Russian revolutionary party, while the American Anarchist Communist party, seemingly like the Russian party, is its very opposite, all the factors and common roots being taken into consideration. You will also find a number of quotations from the works of Marx and Lenin which conclusively prove the absolute correctness of the position of the Socialist Labor Party on such questions as 'Transition Period,' 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat,' force and violence, etc. I challenge you to refute the arguments advanced in that pamphlet. You cannot do it, and you dare not attempt to do it, for you would have to repudiate, not only Marx (which perhaps would not trouble you much), but you would have to repudiate Lenin also. There is where 'Leninist' faith, Mr. Batsky, will suffer shipwreck on the rocks of Marxian science! (Note that I put Leninist in quotation marks. I do this because Leninism, properly speaking, means Marxism as applied to Russia, whereas 'Leninism' is the religious phantasmagoria into which you and your unthinking associates have turned Leninism.)

I take my leave of you, and I do so in the hope that some day, with changed circumstances in the economic relations of Russia, we may meet in fraternal fellowship on common ground—that is, on that in-

initely higher level afforded by superior industrial development, where you will be able to look back and down, as in a perspective, upon the present unripe situation in Russia, with a full realization of your past folly in attempting to mould the revolutionary movement of a full-blown capitalism to the retarded industrial development of Russia. On that day you will have discovered, as De Leon put it, that the S.L.P., with malice toward none, with charity for all, is moving by chart, 'its path lighted from above by a firmament where the North Star shines distinctly in its place, and is for never an instant confused with a rush light, or the fitful phosphorescence of a lightning-bug.'"

"Sincerely yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

There is little to be added to the foregoing. Nothing further has been heard from Rasky to date.

As a sample of the "conspiracy of silence," in which certain Russians, or perhaps only certain American and British adventurers and renegades at present in Russia, have joined with the S. P. and anarcho-reformist elements, the following will serve: Comrade A. S. Dowler had written a letter to the English paper *Moscow News*, published in Moscow, of which one Anna Louise Strong, former S. P. scribe, is the associate editor. The letter of Comrade Dowler felicitated Soviet Russia on the progress made industrially, and concluded by pointing out that he was a member of the S.L.P. and that the S. L. P. was the only revolutionary party in America.

The letter was published in the *Moscow News* of January 17, 1932, with every reference to the S. L. P. carefully deleted. A letter written to the same paper by Comrade Mills fared similarly, except that Comrade Mills was made to say, what he had never said, that the *Moscow News* was helping to expose lies "by telling the truth about the Soviet Union." This seemed like rubbing it in. Here is a paper which pats itself on the back for telling the truth at the very moment that it falsely imputes to Comrade Mills a statement he had not made, while at the same time it suppresses the truth by emasculating Mills's letter! A letter written by the National Secretary in December to this paper, also felicitating Soviet Russia on its progress, was suppressed altogether, although no mention whatever was made of the S. L. P. except as printed on the letterhead, and in the signature on the letter. In a letter to Comrade Dowler this incident is related in detail. It follows as a matter of record:

"January 27, 1932.

"Dr. A. S. Dowler,
"P. O. Box 412,
"Glendale, Calif.

"Dear Comrade Dowler:

"I have just received the *Moscow News* dated January 17, and find your letter printed on page seven, but very much emasculated indeed. This is a sad commentary, and yet entirely typical, to find that what is to be regarded as the official English mouth-organ of Soviet Russia acts toward the S. L. P. as the capitalist, the reform, and the anarchist groups act toward the Party in this

country, and as they have acted during all these years. I will copy your letter as it appeared on a separate sheet in case you do not get the paper. You will observe of course that they have left out all reference to the Socialist Labor Party as contained in your letter.

"This brings me to a similar matter which I had intended to tell you about when I first received a copy of your letter to the editor of the *Moscow News*, but which I failed to write you for lack of time. Last November I addressed a letter to Anna Louise Strong, associate editor of the *Moscow News*, conveying also felicitations on the Soviet anniversary, and expressing congratulations on the tremendous industrial progress made in Russia. I enclosed with this letter a circular which was used in connection with the De Leon celebration, containing the essential facts concerning De Leon's life and work, together with a large portrait of De Leon and excerpts of his writings. On this circular I wrote a typed note suggesting that in view of De Leon's birthday, and in view of Lenin's repeated praises of De Leon (which I also quoted completely), it would seem proper to mention, however brief, of De Leon were made in the *Moscow News* in this December issue. Note, however, that in my letter addressed to Miss Strong I did not make the slightest mention of this matter at all. To date neither my letter nor my suggestion re De Leon has been given the slightest public notice. Miss Strong, as you may remember, used to be associate editor of an S. P. paper in Seattle some ten or twelve years ago. She carried on in typical S. P. style. She conducted a col-

among other things in which imitated the style of a capitalist capitalist in a New York newspaper that is, brief staccato sentences with dots—mostly dots. I wrote thinking that she might possibly be a trifle more amenable to reason and perhaps slightly more courteous than the average run of the tribe of 'Americanos' that have migrated to Seattle. But evidently I have entirely misjudged her in this respect. Her associate editor of that paper is one Charles Ashleigh who, if my memory serves me right, was a member of the Anarcho-Syndicalist I. W. W., a gentleman who had then migrated from Great Britain. If my memory does serve me right, it is an apt commentary indeed to note how avidly the Russian leaders embrace these ex-S. P. reformers and Anarchists, who place them in a position where, negatively if in no other way, they can do great harm in far as English-speaking countries are concerned. I intend to bring these facts to public notice as soon as I get a moment or when the time seems particularly propitious. At this time I want to tell you about this matter since you also wrote to the *Moscow News*, although you wrote slightly better than I did.

With best wishes, I am

"Faternally yours,

"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

In the face of this situation there is nothing the S. L. P. can do except patiently bide its time.

Our movement in Great Britain is progressing very slowly. While there is a keen demand for S. L. P. literature in the British Isles; the eco-

nomic conditions make it difficult for the workers to purchase it, and for the same reason (or in part at least) the S. L. P. of Great Britain does not increase its membership materially. However, as in the United States, so in Great Britain larger numbers could easily be secured if the Party were willing to sacrifice quality for quantity, and embark on a course of expediency. But the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain has had a bitter experience, having all but suffered complete shipwreck during the days immediately following the Russian Revolution when it let down the bars, so to speak, and admitted to its ranks reformers of all stripes, notably the anarcho-reform ranters. Comrade L. Cotton, the National Secretary, has nobly led in the maintaining of S. L. P. principles in what was left of the Party after the debacle back in 1918, '19 and '20. He has done so at a great personal financial sacrifice. The Socialist Labor Party of America has aided our British comrades whenever possible, chiefly in extending credit. Without extension of such credit the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE would probably have ceased altogether. The point has been reached, however, where it is necessary to insist on a stricter settlement of accounts, and to that end it has been agreed that from March 1 the Party in Great Britain is to assume the responsibility for the WEEKLY PEOPLE account. It remains to be seen whether this will actually prove an improvement. While we are naturally reluctant to cut off the supply of WEEKLY PEOPLES now going to Great Britain, it goes without saying that

we cannot indefinitely furnish them practically free.

Recently a conference of the S.L.P. of Great Britain was held, at which this and related matters were discussed. Among other important decisions the launching of a Party organ was agreed upon—a monthly to begin with. It was also decided to sell the WEEKLY PEOPLE at a loss, since otherwise the price would be above the price charged for labor papers, which in effect would mean that the paper would not sell. In order to pay its way the WEEKLY PEOPLE would have to sell at 5d. It will be offered for sale at 3d.

The workers of Great Britain have been betrayed so often that we cannot wonder at their hesitancy in supporting any party today. The base treachery of Ramsay MacDonald and the crew of fakers who, in the name of labor, had served capitalism so well, and who recently rushed to the defense of British imperialism, takes its place in the record of Social Democratic betrayals of the workers along with the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske bloody treason of a decade or more ago. Yet it would seem that the workers of Great Britain either have not yet had enough of these servitors of capitalism, or else they feel themselves utterly helpless, for there have been no indications that they are ready to ditch the anti-Marxist groups which have been supporting MacDonald's treacheries. The so-called Independent Labor party, which for so long tried to serve as a figleaf for MacDonald's naked capitalist policies, has recently decided to remain in keeping with its Social Democratic traditions.

Both in Germany and Holland there have recently been formed Socialist Labor parties which seem to be the result of an increasing aversion to the reform program of the old Social Democratic parties. In the case of the most recently formed Socialist Labor party, that of Holland, it is reported that the seceding group "had been attacking the party's executive committee for some time, demanding it abandon its 'reformist' tactics in favor of revolutionary Socialism." "Today [the report continues] in fiery speeches they charged that by cooperating with the government the leaders had committed treason to the labor movement no less serious than Prime Minister MacDonald's in England." (Despatch to New York Times, March 29, 1932.)

These splits are healthy signs. They portend the advent of a new alignment, where the Social Democratic parties (including the S. L. P. of America) will be placed definitely where they belong, that is, on the capitalist side of the class struggle.

If the progress of the Socialist Labor Party has been slow in Great Britain, it has been slower yet in Australia. We are too far removed to be able to judge accurately as to the reason for this. There are S. L. P. groups in Adelaide, Melbourne and perhaps in one or two other places. They carry on agitation regularly, including open air meetings, but as in Great Britain (and to some extent here also for that matter) the workers are too poor even to invest a few pennies in educational S.L.P. literature. Nothing is ever heard of from the bogus S. L. P. group in Sydney which seems to have died a natural death.

Under this head is submitted a report by Comrade W. H. Mills, who has conducted correspondence with a number of papers and groups, chiefly in the Latin countries. The report follows:

"Baltimore, Md.,
"April 6, 1932.

Mr. Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary, S. L. P.,
10 Rose St.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrade:

By way of a comprehensive annual report, briefly told, on the foreign outlook, the writer hereof begs to submit the following:

"In the sense that a truly labor movement contemplates the realization of Socialism as its goal, the Socialist Labor Party stands alone in all countries of the world, if we except the U. S. S. R. There is no active Socialist movement except that of the Socialist Labor Party in the Western Hemisphere.

"In all countries of the Western Hemisphere except Uruguay and the United States of North America the Communist party, due to its avowed program of violence, has been outlawed, its newspapers have been suppressed and circulation of its literature forbidden. The only publications representing the Communist cause in Latin America that survive are printed in Montevideo, Uruguay, and these reach us at increasingly longer intervals.

"In Europe, the Communist movement shows considerable strength in France, both on the political and trade union field, but it is inconsiderable in comparison to the proletarian

mass and it is split into warring factions.

"In Germany Communist votes are counted by millions but it remains a minority party.

"In Italy there is no longer any apparent labor movement worthy the name.

"In all other European countries, Russia of course excepted, the Communist movement is comparatively negligible.

"Reports in the foreign press indicate a Communist revolt in southern China that has assumed organized Soviet form in an area as large as New York State added to all the states of New England, including some large cities. This Sovietized population, numbering (it is claimed) some eighty millions, is defended by a Soviet army which the Kuomintang government of China holds in considerable respect.

"Uprisings of native populations of French Indo-China have been during the past two years ruthlessly smothered in blood; many of those accused as leaders and teachers of Communist doctrine were guillotined with only a mockery of trial, or no trial at all; thousands were imprisoned or deported to remote islands in the Pacific Ocean to die.

"All other so-called labor organizations throughout the world take the form of Social Democratic, political reform parties that call themselves Socialist, and trade union organizations of the pro-bourgeois type bearing more or less resemblance to the American Federation of Labor. They embody not even the germ of a revolutionary idea. They are intent, simply, on getting something now; their loudest demands are for a little higher wage and for

social insurance of one form or another—against unemployment, sickness and old age.

"Of the hundreds of columns of matter setting forth the Socialist Labor Party's program of Social Revolution sent abroad in the past three years, not one line has, to this writer's knowledge, appeared in any Communist publication anywhere in the world. A few papers representing so-called Socialist political groups in Latin America and in Spain have given the S. L. P. more or less casual mention. Some score of 'pure and simple' trade union publications have given more or less liberally of their space to matter furnished by the foreign bureau of the S. L. P. and in some instances these newspapers and magazines have given entire pages to reproduction of S. L. P. literature, including the 1928 National Platform, 'Socialist Production and Collapse of Capitalism,' selections from 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society' and from other Party propaganda literature, of course, all in Spanish as prepared under the direction and authority of the National Office.

"This writer has in view to give wide dissemination in Europe and Latin-American countries especially to important pronouncements, including the National Platform, of the 1932 National Convention of the S. L. P.

"Much of this writer's time has been devoted to translation of Eugene Sue's very comprehensive survey of the passing of the feudal system and history in romance narrative form of the French Revolution and the rise of the capitalist social order. The manuscript of the

translation just completed comprises 969 typewritten and printed pages of standard letter-paper size, which will make three 12mo. volumes of about 500 pages each.

"Of the news and other matter supplied by this writer during the working year just closed, the WEEKLY PEOPLE has printed approximately one hundred columns. At least some of this matter was reproduced in the official publications of the Party's Language Federations.

"The writer's Party correspondence for the year includes many hundreds of letters covering the United States and other countries. A feature of this work has been to watch the newspapers for opportunities to get in touch with persons writing to such papers on economic conditions and sending these persons copies of WEEKLY PEOPLE and other Socialist literature — booklets and leaflets issued by the Party. Usually, a letter accompanied the matter thus sent.

"The undersigned desires to thank you for the sympathetic cooperation of the National Office in carrying forward the activities of this branch of the Party's propaganda service.

"Fraternally submitted,
"Word H. Mills."

As surely as Marxism is international in spirit and application, just as surely will the revolutionary principle of the Socialist Labor Party find acceptance wherever capitalism has developed to any considerable extent. It is incumbent upon us to keep our eyes wide open, and our ear to the ground.

The Bourgeois S. P. and the Anarcho-Communist Reformers.

De Leon once said: "Every reform that capitalism grants is a con- siderable measure of reaction." It follows that every demand for reforms is a bid for measures of reaction. If we observe the doings of the reformers — both the out and out "Liberal," as well as the S. P. and Anarcho-Communist reformers — we shall find ample confirmation of this dictum. The role of the S. P. as an instrument of capitalist reaction is pretty generally recognized by this time. The perennial "left wing" squabbles in that outfit are recurrent indications that another supply of "the youth of the land" has had its brains gouged out, and that these are getting ready, either for the scrap-heap of capitalism (in some cases as editors for capitalist journals), or for Anarcho-Communism. The corrupt and ultra-reactionary Hillquit-Oneal-Cahan combination still controls the old rusty machine for lying about Socialism, and the dissenting elements are calling this "old guard" all sorts of names, in true S. P. comradely fashion. There is an interesting point to note in this connection. Whenever another batch of "left whingers" is getting ready to sprout a complete set of wings, preparatory to leaving the maternal S. P. nest, the S. P. officialdom gives the old rusty machine a new coat of "red" paint—that is, they unwrap the bundles of Marxian phrases (which had been carefully put away in the S. P. attic when the Thomases, the Browns, and the rest of the liberal suckers had to be

caught) and trot them out again in order to prove to the dissenters that the "old guard" is as "Marxian" as they are. When the next eruption takes place, these phrases will again be put away carefully in mothballs and camphor, while bait is being set for new gudgeons.

If we turn to the other set of reformers, the Anarcho-Communists, we find De Leon's dictum confirmed with a vengeance. In the WEEKLY PEOPLE there have appeared articles which in detail have exposed the lunacy of these loud-mouthed, crude informers. Their most recent stunt is of the same order as those described in the PEOPLE articles. In the *Daily Worker* of April 8, 1932, for example, the following stupidly reactionary howl is emitted:

"After outlining Wall Street's program for freeing finance capital from any fear of taxation, Mills [Secretary of Treasury] turned around and proposed that the huge government deficit be collected almost entirely from the working class and the petit-bourgeoisie."

This is going the old S. P. considerably better in the claim that the workers pay the taxes. If we bear in mind that the total amount of taxes collected equals, and probably now exceeds, the total amount paid the workers in wages, the concern of the anarcho-reformers will be seen to be entirely for what they so charmingly designate the "petit-bourgeoisie." Another recent reactionary stunt is their agitation for the \$2,000,000,000 soldier bonus. (The American Legion is as reactionary a body as can well be imagined. The members may well be regarded as the Praetorian Guard of the

House of Morgan—that is, of the plutocracy. Yet, the group recognized by Soviet Russia as its representative in this country, is willing, nay anxious, to subsidize the members of this plutocratic organization! And what reason is given for demanding this bonus? That “the three million five hundred thousand veterans” need it, and that they are entitled to it because it “*is a back pay debt due them.*” (*Daily Worker*, April 14, 1932.) Back pay! Pay for slaughtering fellow workers for the benefit of the plutocracy of America! One may well ask: What next! The S. P. has recently set the example of organizing separate Catholic locals. Following this cue, and in line with their bonus plea for the American Legion, we may perhaps witness the Anarchists pleading for an indemnity to the pope for the many years he was “illegally” deprived of sovereignty over the “Papal State.” The latter is no crazier proposal than indemnifying those who butchered fellow workers in Europe, and who since have trampled what we have left of constitutional rights under their hoofs.

In our encounters with the Anarcho-Communists, at meetings or in debates, we have found them to be 100 per cent Anarchists, and of the most repugnant slummist type. They are utterly unscrupulous. Comrade Upton of Oregon who recently debated one of their “leaders,” reports that when it came to his turn to speak, the hoodlums set up such a din and racket that he could not be heard. They kept this up, egged on by the fellow with whom Comrade Upton was supposed to debate, and who more than likely is another agent provocateur. Needless to say,

he lied unblushingly whenever he mentioned the S. L. P. A first cousin of the Anarcho-Communists, a “Proletarian party” member who recently debated with Comrade Pickett at Jackson, acquitted himself in a somewhat similar manner. So contemptible was this fellow that a correspondent to the National Office (not a member, and one not committed to the S. L. P.) wrote of him:

“Your article on De Leon, reprinted recently in pamphlet form, is just what I have been wanting to read—especially since hearing Al Renner in his debate with Pickett at Jackson. Of course Pickett used much of this material, but your statement is more comprehensive. Renner’s distortions of the S. L. P. position can hardly be due to ignorance or misunderstanding—in view of so many clear, concise statements; they must be due to a feeling of enmity that is not checked by honesty, it seems to me.”

We know the Communist parties are filled with agents provocateurs. They take to the Anarchists as naturally as mice take to cheese. The sensational trial in Canada has proved this to the hilt. Another respondent, until recent years an active member of theirs, one Wallace Melcalfe, has been shown to have been a member of the Department of Justice since 1919—and he was only found out a year or two ago! Every one of these shouters for violence—these scoundrels who egg on the rank and file to deeds of violence, and beat a hasty retreat whenever police clubs descend on the skulls of their unfortunate victims—every one of them is a presumptive agent provocateur, from W. Z. Foster up or

down. De Leon had Mr. Foster spotted as an Anarchist as long ago as 1911. Referring to a report of a statement made by Foster at a conference of the Labor Secretariat at Budapest, Hungary (where incidentally he was denied a seat), De Leon said that if Foster was correctly reported (which he was), “then Foster traveled far to illustrate the fact that the Anarchist in America differs not from his congener in Europe—a perambulating lump of erratic, contradictory, foot-in-the-mouthness.” And the same gentleman’s statements before the Senatorial Committee investigating the steel strike (U. S. Senate, 61st Congress) clearly reveal the cloven hoof of the adventurer, if not the agent provocateur. Asked by Senator Walsh: “What was your attitude toward this country during the war?” Foster answered:

“*My attitude toward the war was that it must be won at all costs.*”

And this same high-minded patriot, also sometimes called Wm. Z. Foster, was enthusiastically given character testimony by the late Mr. Samuel Gompers, and by John Fitzpatrick, of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Questioned by the chairman of the Senatorial investigation committee, Mr. Gompers said:

“About a year after that meeting at Zurich—no, about two years after the Zurich meeting [where Foster represented the I. W. W. as delegate], and about a year after that pamphlet (‘Syndicalism’) had been printed, I was at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, conducted under the presidency of Mr. John Fitzpatrick. I was called upon to make and did make an address.

One of the delegates arose after I had concluded and expressed himself that it would be wise for the men in the labor movement of Chicago and of the entire country to follow the thought and philosophy and so forth which President Gompers had enunciated in his address. I did not know who was the delegate. He was a new personality to me. I might say that I was rather flattered and pleased at the fact that there was general comment of approval of not only my utterances but of the delegate who had first spoken after I had concluded.

“Much to my amazement, after the meeting was over I was informed that the delegate was W. Z. Foster, the man who had appeared in Zurich and the man who had written that pamphlet. I think I addressed a letter to him expressing my appreciation of his change of attitude, his change of mind, and pointing out to him that pursuing a constructive policy he could be of real service to the cause of labor. He was a man of ability, a man of good presence, gentle in expression, a commander of good English, and I encouraged him. I was willing to help build a golden bridge for mine enemy to pass over. I was willing to welcome an erring brother into the ranks of constructive labor.”

Mr. Fitzpatrick ably seconded Mr. Gompers’s efforts to paint Mr. Foster as the 100 per cent patriot that he had proved himself to be, and adduced the following testimony. Asked by the chairman whether he had ever discussed with Foster his book “Syndicalism” (a primer on sabotage and anarchist tactics in general), Mr. Fitzpatrick said:

“Oh, he joked about the views he

had in his younger days, when he associated with men who were actuated with radical thoughts, and he was imbued by it, but when he got both his feet on the ground and knew how to weigh matters with better discretion and more conscience he had forgot all of those things that he learned when he was a boy, and is now doing a man's thinking in the situation."

Asked further by the chairman as to Foster's loyalty during the war, Mr. Fitzpatrick testified:

"Absolutely loyal, and he did everything in his power to assist in every way. I worked with him. I worked with him during the whole of the war, and I know the service that he rendered to the country. I think that he rendered as great a service, not only to the United States Government, but to the Allies, as any man."

Questioned directly by the chairman, Mr. Foster testified as follows:

"SENATOR WALSH: Some reference was made by Mr. Fitzpatrick about your purchasing bonds or your subscribing to some campaign fund. Do you mind telling the committee what you did personally in that direction?"

"FOSTER: I bought my share, what I figured I was able to afford, and in our union we did our best to help make the loans a success."

"WALSH: Did you make speeches?"

"FOSTER: Yes, sir."

"WALSH: How many?"

"FOSTER: Oh, dozens of them."

"WALSH: I would like to have you, for the sake of the record, tell us how many speeches you made, what time you devoted, and what money you expended for bonds, for

the Red Cross or for any other purposes."

"FOSTER: Well, I think I bought either \$450 or \$500 worth of bonds during the war. I cannot say exactly."

"WALSH: You made speeches for the sale of bonds?"

"FOSTER: We carried on a regular campaign in our organization in the stockyards."

"WALSH: And your attitude was the same as the attitude of all the other members of your organization?"

"FOSTER: Absolutely."

Pressed by the chairman for a statement as to the extent of his agreement with Mr. Gompers's views, Mr. Foster testified:

"CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gompers, however, has not changed his views concerning the I. W. W., but your views have changed?"

"FOSTER: I don't think Mr. Gompers's views have changed — only to become more pronounced, possibly."

"CHAIRMAN: And you say now to the committee that your views have so changed that you are in harmony with the views of Mr. Gompers?"

"FOSTER: Yes, sir, I don't know that it is 100 per cent, but in the main they are."

In the following statement Mr. Wm. Zig-Zag Foster puts himself on exhibition as the perfect chameleon:

"I am one who changes his mind once in a while. I might say that other people do. I shook hands with Gustave Herve in La Sante Prison. At that time he was in there for anti-militarism and for preaching sabotage, and today I think Gustave

Herve is one of the biggest men in France."

Herve having turned social patriot and traitor to the working class, Mr. Foster finds in him a true brother and fellow social patriot, whom he proudly hails as one of the biggest men in France. At that time the government of this great French Republic was conspiring with the rest of the Imperialist bandits against Soviet Russia. And this man, this confessed traitor, this cringing creature who crawled on his belly before Gompers and the Senatorial Committee, is today the head of the Government which in the United States is supposed to represent revolutionary Russia! A Bakunin acting as Marx's accredited representative would be no more monstrous exhibition than this one! A rat prancing about as a lion would be as inspiring!

It is, of course, next to impossible to hit a target that forever zigzags. One can sympathize with the old lady who, upon being asked why she abused the rabbit again, answered:

"It was this way, boy. You see, dat there rabbit was runnin' zigzag. Ah abuse at him when he wuz in zig, and fore ah could shet mah shootin' dat rabbit had shifted into zag! Dem critters is gittin' more eddicated every day."

And so they are. But it is up to the S. L. P. to keep a jump or two ahead of these rabbits (with apologies to the rabbits) all the time, and educate the workers so fast that the "education" of the zigzaggers will reach them nothing. It is important to keep the spotlight on these questionable characters, and expose their treason and corruption. Pretending

to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, these vultures hover over the battlefield of the struggle in search of pickings. In place of organization, they stage street battles, individual physical force fights — in short, all the tactics of Anarchism. One is reminded forcibly of Marx's brilliant thumbnail sketch of the Anarchist:

"What all Socialists understand by Anarchism is this: as soon as the goal of the proletarian movement, the abolition of classes, shall have been reached, the power of the State, whose function it is to keep the great majority of the producers beneath the yoke of a small minority of exploiters, will disappear, and governmental functions will be transformed into simple administrative functions. The [Bakunin] Alliance turns the thing upside down. It declares Anarchism in the ranks of the workers to be an infallible means for disrupting the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. *Under this pretext, it asks the International, at the very time when the old world is endeavoring to crush our organization, to replace organization by Anarchism. The international police could wish for nothing better....!*"

Indeed, the police could wish for nothing better than the Anarchism of the Fosters, Amters and the rest of the ghastly crew masquerading as Communists and friends of Soviet Russia!

When an Anarcho-Communist does not preach Anarchism, he frequently turns unconscious humorist, as we have had occasion to note repeatedly. A very characteristic instance of this is found in a report from a Se-

attle member of the S. L. P. sent to the National Office. Let the comrade tell the story in his own words:

"I want to tell you about an experience I had on Thursday, Jan. 21. I dropped into the Communist party headquarters to secure a copy of their platform. I was unknown to any one in the hall and told them I had come to find out something about their party. I was met by a fleshy dark-complexioned man and two younger men. I asked them as to their program and final goal, etc. I was told they were going to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country; they included the poor farmer in their class of workers; small business men, etc. Many questions were asked by me, one on their stand on unionism. Another man who came up explained it that their position was about like the position that was held by the dead Socialist Labor Party. I asked if the S. L. P. was dead; they said yes, and that the man who organized it, Daniel De Leon, repudiated it and skipped out and went to Russia—that he was there now. I said: 'Why, a man who claims to be a member of the S. L. P. told me De Leon had died in 1914.' That got a good laugh out of all of them. They said De Leon is dead to the S.L.P. but he was alive and in Russia. This dark man said: 'I know he was there four years ago as I met De Leon and was introduced to him.' The dark man added that he was in the hall a few years ago when Lenin paid a great tribute to De Leon on his stand on the union question, etc., and Daniel De Leon was sitting in the audience. I asked 'Is it not possible you have got De Leon

mixed with Reinstein?' They said no, it was old Daniel De Leon, about 85 years old, the man who organized the S. L. P. I asked if they could prove that. They said, of course, the Communist party never makes a statement they can't prove. I asked if they had a book, pamphlet or paper in the hall which carried the statement that De Leon was now in Russia, etc. They said they did not, but I could write to Solon De Leon in New York, Daniel De Leon's son, who would prove it to me or I could write to the Old Bolsheviks' Club in Moscow and get the proof. I suggested that if it was true that De Leon repudiated the S. L. P. and made his followers think he was dead, etc., that they should publish that and use it against the S. L. P. They thought that was a good idea. After asking many other questions and receiving many silly answers I said I must go. One young member said he would write to Moscow for proof about De Leon and I could come in later."

Crazy as this story sounds, it is no worse than many of the idiotic things they peddle through their papers and noisy salesmen. And if error, like truth, has its logic, so madness, like rationalism, has its method. The claim that the Communist party is like the S. L. P. "used to be," is particularly delicious. They are as much like the S. L. P. as the night is like the day. The Anarcho-Communist party is a reform body, advocating violence to accomplish its reforms. The Socialist Labor Party, on the contrary, is a Marxian organization advocating a peaceful approach to the accomplishment of the Proletarian Revolution. And therein lies a world of difference.

Industrial Organization.

Despite the din and tumult Industrial Unionism, any more than Bunker's ghost, will not down. On the contrary, it rises in commanding importance the more the confusion spreads—a confusion that always precedes coalescence and unity. Yet, every now and then new-old voices are heard in the land questioning Industrial Unionism, or this or that phase of it. Freaks who have been cast off as unclean and unfit by the S. L. P. prate about the all-sufficiency of the economic organization, and about the waste of political activities. Twenty-five years ago De Leon exposed such and similar offshoots from the tree of Anarchism. Again in 1909 he said:

"As to whether the political movement of Socialism is the more important, or the economic movement the more essential of the two, that may very well be left as a subject for the essayists. Its discussion now would serve no practical purpose. It may well be left aside as inconsequential. One thing, however, stands out clear—under existing conditions, that organization of Socialism which is bound to appear first is the political. The very nature of its mission, essentially propagandist, determines its priority. *The political organization of Socialism must be the disseminator of that knowledge and information which will take organic shape in the classconscious, industrial organization of the working class—the foundation and structure of the Socialist Republic.* Thus, although the political is the transitory, and the economic organization the permanent formation of future society, the political organization,

like the scaffolding of a building, must precede the permanent structure."

And in an editorial entitled "The 'Industrial League,'" written more than twenty years ago, he exposes the absurdity of the theory that the Industrial Union (in the case he discusses the so-called Industrial League) can perform the work of the political party, and sums up by saying:

"The field for the operation of the political party is the political territory. The field for the operation of the union is the industrial field. For either to operate upon the other's field is not to 'unite forces,' but to cause them to fall foul of each other. Nevertheless, the effort to perform the miracle is welcome. Its very absurdity and fated failure is a compliment to and confirmation of the S. L. P. position."

Needless to add, the effort did fail, as every similar effort will, and nothing has since been heard of the "Industrial League," which undoubtedly went the way of all leagues of freaks and crooks.

Again, we have heard the new-old voice that the workers cannot be organized industrially, or that there is not time to do it, which, of course, comes to the same thing. There are even those, otherwise clear and loyal workers, who speculate on what to do if the collapse of capitalism comes and finds the workers unorganized. Some of these good folks seem to think that just instinctively the workers will march into the factories and plants of production and resume production. How lovely that picture looks! But if that is a reasonable expectation, then why waste time agitating and organizing now?

It is, of course, a wholly naive assumption, or rather it is several naive assumptions. One assumption is that capitalism will collapse dramatically like a house that collapses over your head. No such thing, of course, will happen. In a certain sense capitalism has already "collapsed." Its further "collapse" will merge with a gradual consolidation into government by industry—perhaps via "industrial boards"—in the hands of the industrial lords. Looked at from that angle no one will notice the particular moment of complete "collapse." And if the working class should rise in rebellion against this feudal industrialism, without an Industrial Union ready to assume control, a social cataclysm will most certainly result that may throw social progress back indefinitely. No, the "collapse of capitalism" will not occur dramatically, nor will the workers assume control of industry by merely walking into the plants, "instinctively" or otherwise. Either assumption belongs in the realm of faery.

An excellent illustration of some of the doubts that possess certain workers (including some sympathizers of the S. L. P.) is contained in a letter received by the National Office some time ago. It was from a sympathizer who sent in a donation to the Campaign Fund, but who had some misgivings as to the program of the S. L. P. being possible of realization. The letter follows:

"Baring, Wash.,
"March 15, 1932.

"Dear Comrades:

"Enclosed \$5 for the National Campaign Fund, and at the same

time the following comments on the S. L. P. program:

"I frankly admit that I have no better program to offer than that of the S. L. P., but, as time passes, it seems to me that its main plank, Industrial Unionism, is bound to become less and less effective with every improvement in the machinery of production and distribution. At the present rate of displacement of labor, it will be only a matter of a few years until those employed in the industries will, comparatively speaking, form, numerically at least, a very insignificant part of the population. Furthermore, none but a visionary expects, in a field as fiercely competitive as that of labor, that any great number, even of those that are left in industry, offer any substantial hope for organization. The question as to whether the unemployed millions can be organized will no doubt also present itself for solution. I believe the S. L. P. has made fun of this suggestion in the past. An Industrial Union of the unemployed sounds rather funny, to be sure, but as the present unemployed millions are bound to increase greatly as time passes, how to make effective use of them for our emancipation, will become a very serious issue.

"Then, too, there is the time element. Even if it were possible to organize the masses, it seems now very doubtful if the revolution will wait. The logic of events, like time and tide, wait for no man. So, the Marxian position that the workers will be drilled, willy-nilly, in running the industries, may have to be our chief reliance after all. Anyway, the best is, in my opinion, far from good enough to accomplish the task of

fully ushering in the threatened revolution.

Another point often mentioned in the WEEKLY PEOPLE is that if we are not prepared we are more likely to get feudalism than Socialism. Big Business would like nothing better, to be sure, but the logic of events is on the job here also. The great worry is that it can't feed the slaves now, and there is surely nothing in sight to show that it will be better able to do so in the future. It seems now to have reached the stage in its development where any further improvement in management or machinery will be more than offset by the loss of markets through unemployment, and this being so, capitalism is unquestionably on the down grade. In other words, it has entered an impasse from which only an act of God' can extricate it. And we don't believe there is a Santa Claus, things look dark indeed.

"Sincerely, etc."

The National Secretary replied in detail under date of April 21 as follows:

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of March 15 with \$5 was duly received, and your contribution to the National Campaign Fund is thankfully acknowledged. The pressure of other work has made it impossible to reply to your letter sooner, but it requires an answer which I shall attempt to give here.

You make a series of statements in your letter with some of which we agree. With the rest we are in disagreement. On one or two points you are under a misconception. To facilitate dealing with these points,

I shall restate them here in the order mentioned. You state:

"1. That as time passes Industrial Unionism is bound to become less and less effective with every improvement in the machinery of production and distribution.

"2. That it will be only a matter of a few years until those employed in the industries will form an insignificant part of the population.

"3. That because of the fierce competition [for jobs] it is visionary to expect organization.

"4. That the S. L. P. pokes fun at the idea of organizing the unemployed.

"5. That time does not now (if ever) make possible the organizing of the workers.

"6. That, because of all this, 'the Marxian position that the workers will be drilled, willy-nilly, in running the industries, may have to be our chief reliance after all.'

"7. That, the S. L. P. contends that if the collapse comes, finding the workers unorganized, Industrial Feudalism will be the next phase in social retrogression, and that since capitalism cannot now feed the slaves, there is no reason to expect Industrial Feudalism to do so.

"8. That, in view of these circumstances, and seeing that we don't believe in Santa Claus, things look dark indeed.

"As to 1. What is it that makes Industrial Unionism the logical thing in a country like America? The fact that a high industrial development, with its consequent elimination of crafts, provides the very mold for Industrial Unionism, as logically as the matrix provides the 'mold' for the stereotyped plate. It would be absurd to say that the

more perfect you make your matrix, the less effective, that is, the less perfect will be your stereotyped plate. It is equally absurd to say that the more perfect the industrial 'matrix' becomes, the less 'perfect' (or the less effective) will become the industrial 'stereotyped plate'—viz., Industrial Unionism. Quite to the contrary, and obviously so. As the mold is, so will be the substance poured into it after it congeals. The 'mold' is there—the industrial plant. The 'liquid'—unorganized or disorganized labor—is being prepared by the logic of events. When poured into the 'mold,' and when it 'congeals,' you have your industrial organization. The 'form' need not worry us, it is already here. It is the substance labor that requires attention.

"As to 2. It is indisputable that the army of unemployed will continue to grow so long as capitalism exists. No issue to be joined here.

"As to 3. Marx says: 'Competition begets monopoly.' He spoke of the tendency toward concentration of capital. Apply the same principle on the field of labor, and the statement would read: 'Competition among the workers leads to concentration of labor'—that is, to *organization*. This has been true in the past. It is becoming overwhelmingly true now, and would be a fact today but for the fake unionism which acts as a blind and a stumbling block, even as fake Socialism acts as a blind and a stumbling block to the growth of revolutionary Socialism. Other things being equal, the fiercer the competition among the workers, the sooner the law of self-preservation drives them into organization.

"As to 4. The S. L. P. does not poke fun at the idea of organizing the unemployed. On the contrary, we assert that no scheme of unionism is complete which leaves out of account the unemployed. De Leon in 'The Burning Question of Trade Unionism,' puts the matter succinctly:

"In the first place, the trade union has a supreme mission. The mission is nothing short of organizing by uniting, and uniting by organizing, the whole working class industrially—not merely those for whom there are jobs, according to not only those who can pay dues.

"The fact that a worker is unemployed does not affect his status as an industrial worker, except, of course, that he is without an income.

"But just as he remains a wage worker whether, because of unemployment or sickness, he earns a wage or not, so he remains an industrial worker even though he may not be working at the machine in the industrial plant. The unemployed industrial worker will take his place in the Industrial Union with the employed worker, and both will, properly informed, be animated with the same purpose—the overthrow of the system which reduces both to the level of commodities in the market, though one may have found while the other may be seeking a buyer of his commodity—the commodity of labor power.

"As to 5. The time element is important, hence our feverish activity. It is a race between the collapse of capitalism and industrial organization. But the difficulties that are placed in the way of our attaining an object have, to men of character

backbone, never yet been considered a reason for slackening of effort. On the contrary, they have been considered added reasons for still greater exertions. Moreover, as you conceded in the first part of your letter, there is no alternative. De Leon has expressed it better than I could ever hope to do when he said:

"The social revolution is not accomplishable unless the proletariat becomes conscious of its class interests, conscious of its historic mission, and is organized accordingly. To deny the fact, and yet expect Socialism, is vain Utopia, in conflict, however, with historic evolution. To ignore the fact, and yet practise Potential Socialism, is a dastardly deception practiced upon the proletariat . . . efforts will be vain . . . unless the proletariat is organized numerically in the battalions that will enable it to assume the reins of Federal government on the day of political victory."

No Socialist in his senses contends that the workers can achieve their emancipation without organization and no sane Socialist would argue that they can be organized on a basis of anything but their class interests. Surely, they cannot be organized on the basis of bankers' interests, or corner-grocers' interests, or farmers' interests. *They are organized only upon the basis of their class interests as industrial workers.* He who says, then, that workers cannot be organized industrially, thereby declares that they cannot be organized at all, which is tantamount to saying that we can never have Socialism. Those who pretend otherwise are arguing, in effect, that the workers may be or-

ganized on the basis of the *economic past*, and not on the basis of the *economic present*. The silly talk, for example, about organizing Soviets in industrial America, is just such an argument, precisely because the Soviet from the standpoint of industrial America, reflects the *economic past*. The working class can be organized because it is, first, the only class that has no stake in capitalism, second, because it is the only class that has a unifying principle, and third, because it is the only class which is indispensable. Revolutionary ideas and principles are slow in developing and in taking hold on the minds of the revolutionary class. But when the conditions are ripe, and when the workers have lost faith in the ability of the prevailing system to furnish them with a living, that revolutionary idea will spread like wildfire; and organization will follow as logically as harvest follows seed time. But we must not expect a harvest until we have sown. We may be dealing with imponderables at this stage, but one thing is certain, and that is that the revolutionary class instinct will assert itself, and it will assert itself in its own logical form—i.e., unionism, just as life itself does, because it is the human thing to do, it is the elemental thing to do.

"As to 6. This is a curious misconception. It is as if one were to say that we have invented umbrellas as protection against rain, but because of this fact our chief reliance in case of rain must, after all, be umbrellas. The very 'Marxian position' you refer to is the one that the S. L. P. invokes in arguing for Industrial Unionism. Without the workers' having been drilled, etc.,

Industrial Unionism, and therefore Socialism would be out of the question.

"As to 7. Unless one takes the position that humanity, and all its works, will literally perish when capitalism has collapsed completely and Socialism has not been established, it is obvious that some sort of system must supersede competitive capitalism. Industrial Feudalism would be the Industrial Republic standing on its head. That is, it would be planned production, with the industrial lords doing the planning, and with the workers in the position of 'feudal' serfs belonging to the industry instead of the land. How long such a state of affairs might last is pure speculation. But since nothing lasts forever it may be assumed that after a period, which might conceivably run into decades, perhaps even centuries, the thing might be turned right side up. But it is easy to understand how, under such a regulated system, the workers could be fed exactly as horses or cattle would be fed. That such a system would be body and soul degrading goes without saying, and things being as they are it is difficult to visualize a working class deliberately choosing industrial serfdom for industrial freedom and well-being.

"As to 8. In view of the present circumstances, and because, thank goodness, we don't believe in Santa Claus, but in our own organized power, things look bright indeed — brighter than they have ever done before. For never before has the material groundwork been here to permit of a realization of Socialism. And that is certainly something for which to be truly thankful.

"All in all, I know of no more glorious time to be living in than the present. We are on the threshold of great changes, with the heavens in favor of Socialism. While we won't make horses for beggars to ride, but neither will despondence furnish wind to the sails on the ship making for the port of humanity Socialism. Let us have faith as we have knowledge, and let us translate faith and knowledge into power. The rest follows.

"Fraternally yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

The S. L. P. position is improving. There is no alternative to it. Hence, it is the duty of those who believe in the emancipation of the working class to work for and with the S. L. P. All else is illusion. Even as the capitalist State symbolizes capitalism, so is the downfall of the State a condition precedent to the establishment of the Industrial Republic of Labor. "The State," in the words of Marx, "will disappear and governmental functions will be transformed into simple administrative functions."

Capitalist Reaction.

When a social system is in process of dissolution the ruling class of that system becomes fiercely reactionary. It is a logical concomitant of the dissolution process. As an outstanding example of this reaction, typifying it in fact, stands the Mooney case. Whatever may have been the original reason for condemning and incarcerating Mooney, there is only one reason now for keeping him incarcerated, and that is fear and hatred. *Fear* of the rev-

olutionary labor movement, and hatred of those who are on the firing line in behalf of the workers. Whatever may be Mooney's understanding as to the means and goal of revolutionary labor, he has, for good or ill, become identified with the revolution. And in a larger sense he symbolizes the struggle and fate of the working class. Kept in bondage for years; used as a football by contending political factions; his case for years exploited for financial gain by adventurers and charlatans; his hopes alternately raised, and utterly crushed; lawyers have made fortunes, in one manner or other, out of the case, and fakers of every stripe, including corrupt Tammany Hall politicians, have used his magic name as a cloak with which to cover their scoundrelism! Are not these also the sufferings and afflictions visited upon the working class as a whole? Well, then, even these revolutionary political and industrial organizations constitute the key that will open the door of freedom to the working class, so the same means constitute the key that will open the prison door of Mooney and all the other victims of capitalist ferocity! Freedom for Mooney should become synonymous with freedom for the working class, even as the former would inevitably follow from the latter!

Recently there has been a dramatic instance of judicial arrogance in the instance of the St. Louis judge who denied to Comrade Saralieff, editor of our Bohemian paper, his right to citizenship though all legal requirements had been complied with. It is difficult to speak of this decision without incurring the risk of placing

oneself in contempt of court. For what other sentiments than contempt can one have for a judicial ruling which so violates every cardinal principle which underlies the glorious revolutionary beginnings which originally gave meaning and substance to that very citizenship! Shades of Washington, Jefferson and Madison! The Party will spare no effort to appeal this case which may, in a minor way, prove a Dred Scott decision. For if not reversed, no one is safe from loss of citizenship or deportation. And if one is native-born, there will no doubt be found Devil's Islands where "undesirables" may be deported, if it so please the feudal-industrial lord and his judicial lackeys!

The 1932 Campaign.

Preliminary arrangements have been made to conduct a vigorous National Campaign. To begin with, a call has been issued for a \$100,000 Campaign Fund. A great deal of credit for furnishing the proper impetus to this fund must be given Comrade Zimmerman of New York. Through this comrade's generous contribution of \$500 an impulse was given the fund which has resulted not only in "seconds" to his "motion," but also in creating a wonderful spirit throughout the country. Those members who are able to contribute liberally are doing it, and in the proper S. L. P. spirit. Present indications are that we should be able to collect the \$100,000 called for, and possibly go over the top.

Various methods will be employed in gathering this fund, including the circulation of collection lists, etc. It has also been proposed to issue a

call for a 'Two Days' Wages Fund, the first day's wage to be paid, say, in June or July, and the second in September or October. Members and sympathizers alike would, of course, be included in asking for such donations.

As indicated under the head of Report of the State of Organization, preliminary inquiries have been made with regard to the conditions for getting on the ballot in the various states. We must get on the ballot in all the important industrial states, and, of course, in as many of the others as possible. To gather these signatures requires the expenditure of considerable amounts. And there are the millions of leaflets that we must print and circulate, and the expenses to be paid touring the organizers, radio broadcasts, etc., etc. To do all that our ambition prompts us to do would no doubt require more than the \$100,000, but we shall be able to take a good stride forward and put over a campaign such as has never been put over before, if the comrades will back our efforts and furnish the sinews of war. The candidates for the presidency and vice presidency will be toured throughout the country, and organizers will be placed in selected industrial territories to work in these territories for weeks or months at the time, as the case may be.

Our Honored Dead.

During the four years that have passed, the Socialist Labor Party has sustained many and serious losses. Mention has already been made of the death of Frank T. Johns. It was a staggering blow to the Party. At the Johns Memorial

Meeting held in New York there presided Henry Kuhn who followed Johns two years later. With the passing of Kuhn there seemed to depart an integral part of the S. L. P. Thoughts revert to the stirring days during which this stalwart fighter strove mightily with De Leon to keep the S. L. P. to its course. It is fitting to repeat here what Kuhn said a year or so before he died as to the importance of keeping the Party to that same course:

"Under the prevailing conditions [said Kuhn] we in America, the S. L. P. of America and all that implies, can but do as we have done—hold our course straight along the line mapped out by Daniel De Leon. Only through an economic organization of the working class along integral industrial lines can the forces be gathered to meet and weather the storm that is bound to break some day; and only through a political organization such as that of the Socialist Labor Party can the banner of Industrial Unionism be most effectively held aloft, find expression on the political field and serve as a beacon for the gathering hosts of the working class.

"The best antidote for pessimism is De Leonism."

Aye, even as Socialism is a synonym for healthy optimism!

Other departed veterans include Peter McDermott of Rhode Island and John D. Goerke of Ohio—all three present and active at our last convention, and all three will be sorely missed as we begin our labors at this convention. Many others have "gone west" since we met in 1928. We salute them all as honorable and unselfish fighters for working class freedom. Their work has not been

in vain, for without them it is more than likely that we should not be here now, fighting more resolutely and effectively than ever for the immortal principles to which they gave their lives.

Conclusion.

We are approaching the close of our era. Tremendous changes lie immediately ahead. As we face these changes, we seem to stand midway on a road that reaches far back into the impenetrable past, and equally far into the impenetrable future. If doubt and confusion seem to prevail, it is but the mist preceding the dawn. The course of the Socialist Labor Party is mapped out clearly. We stand united, facing a world of opposition, but we stand as *one*, because we stand on truth. Truth, in

the words of De Leon, is one-fold, it alone unites. Error is manifold; it inevitably scatters. To reach its goal the working class must move as *one*. Large masses can move as *one* only on the basis of truth. On any other basis they will speak with a Babel of tongues, and they will move in all directions except the right one. And truth being that which fits all the facts in the case, the Socialist Labor Party is conscious of its duty to continue to lead and urge the workers on to the road of emancipation on the basis of its time-and-fact-tested principles. For that road leads inevitably through the portals of De Leonism.

Fraternally submitted,
National Executive Committee,
Socialist Labor Party,
Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary.

THE REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF THE WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Greetings!

In penning this report I am reminded of an incident from the 1904 convention. Two comrades, visitors from one of the outlying small groups, came to some of us delegates bitterly complaining of the report of De Leon as Editor of the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE. They had come in on purpose to hear that, expecting a "tremendous report," and all he did was to get up and talk for about fifteen minutes of some trouble he had had with some be-

lated little Kangaroo from Pittsburgh. It was impossible to convince these two disappointed comrades that in regard to our official organ, the only thing, outside of the paper itself as it *appears* and *reports* to the membership week by week (or day by day), is the troubles it runs into.

Therefore, if any one, because of the tremendous situation that faces us today, has been looking forward to a tremendous report from the Editor, he will be sorely disap-

pointed. I haven't even a scrap to talk about, since the only two heavy complaints that have come in during the last four years—one that I was traducing the Party's stand on religion, and the other that I had been guilty of the sport, eternally complained of against our editors, namely, of suppressing sprouting genius—were both acted upon and settled at the 1931 meeting of the National Executive Committee, and, accordingly, already reported to the membership in full detail. There is no need, therefore, to take up time even with a review of these cases.

The past, accordingly, being safely behind us, I am going to take up a little of your time to talk about the future.

We are facing a tremendously important campaign. I think we all agree that this is unquestionably the most important campaign in the history of the Party. It is, in fact, *the* campaign we have been waiting for for forty years. I think we also agree that this is going to be the crucial test of the Socialist Labor Party. The task that faces us is going to strain all our resources and all our energies to the utmost limit. Are we going to rise to the demands of the occasion? I believe we are, solely because *we must*. All else will be failure, and the S. L. P. is not built to fail. There is no such word in our dictionary.

That which most nearly concerns me, of course, is the WEEKLY PEOPLE. We are facing the greatest campaign in our history—in the history of the country. Perhaps we are even face to face with the working class revolution. And this we are facing with a little six-page weekly paper as our only regular

mouthpiece, as our only means of direct communication with the working class of America. Does the thought of that abash you? It does me. Comrades, that organ of ours has *got to grow*. I am not now thinking so much of size or frequency of issue, though that too is important. I am thinking primarily of the subscription list. Comrade delegates, the size of that sub list, in face of the events that face us, is a scandal, it is more than that, *it is a danger*. Will you please take that word, *danger*, home with you and impress it on your Sections and our members anywhere? A million regular readers of the WEEKLY PEOPLE would be about the least adequately necessary at this hour of history! half that number would already make us an influence that neither the reformers nor the reaction would dare to ignore. Do these numbers sound wild? Do you realize that the sloppy *Appeal to Reason* in its heyday rolled up a subscription list something like this? Don't tell us that they did it by printing slush and reform stuff that appealed to morons. We know that. Don't tell us that they used all sorts of shady schemes to catch suckers. We know that. That was the age when suckers went about looking for hooks; it was the day when reform schemes appealed and the revolutionary message could not be understood by any except the chosen few.

Has the field changed since then? I needn't argue that with you. It should require no argument to any member of the S. L. P. Even Wall Street's suckers' hook has been so exposed of late that the mass is getting wary of biting on any scheme or proposal. As for reform nostrums,

it is almost safe to say that the only ones that truly believe in them are those who benefit by their propaganda. Not one of these schemes but is easily exposed, and the workers will drink in the exposure. But that is not enough. They have to be taught to want the real thing. And they have got so far that they love to swallow it if given in sufficiently small and simple doses at street corners. But that is not enough. It does not go home. It does not repeat itself with sufficient regularity. Comrades, you know the answer: The PEOPLE. It has got to go to the working class. Why not?

Will you make this a campaign to spread the WEEKLY PEOPLE down all things? Will you take that message home and impress it with all possible force on the entire membership?

We have tried everything from this end to stimulate activity. We have even tried schemes—in a mild and legitimate way—starting contests and offering prizes and the like. I have come to the conclusion personally, and I am quite certain the National Secretary agrees with me, that this is not the S. L. P. way. An inducement like that is not required for an S. L. P. man to work. An S. L. P. man works from inspiration and conviction. In the past we were "holding on," we could not go much further than we did. It was a dull work to hold on. Today we are working with the current. The S. L. P. man who does not take advantage of that current is not doing his duty; he possesses neither conviction nor inspiration—he does not belong in the S. L. P.

The sub list *must* increase during

the campaign. How? That is your work. My suggestion is that this convention set a minimum of new subs to be secured during the campaign—and set it high enough—and then go home and *compel* the membership to deliver the goods. There is no goal too high. And there is nothing difficult in obtaining it. I am certain that there is at this moment a half million subscriptions for the WEEKLY PEOPLE to be picked up at once if we would but go out and get them.

Are we going to?

Let's hitch our wagon to a star, not to a slow-moving ox-team, as circumstances compelled us to do in the past.

*

At this point and in this connection I wish to read a letter that, curiously enough, I received just two days after I had penned the above. Repeatedly in the subscription columns I have published extracts from letters from readers expressing their joy at having accidentally come across a copy of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. This writer does more than that. He actually pleads with us to get the WEEKLY PEOPLE to the workers who are actually starving for the information it contains:

"Buffalo, N.Y., April 25, 1932.

"Weekly People,
"City Hall Station,
"New York City.

"Dear Sir:

"As a last resort I am coming to you to appeal to your membership who read the WEEKLY PEOPLE to circulate the paper among their friends and acquaintances so they may understand and know some-

thing about the S. L. P. and its program. I know of some of your members who read the WEEKLY PEOPLE each week and when they are through they store them away into their attics for references and you cannot make them understand the absurdities of their acts. They have tons of paper lying hidden in those attics and nobody gets any benefits out of them. If that is revolutionary then it is just too bad about it all. I did not know anything about the S. L. P. until recently and there are thousands upon thousands of people, such as I was myself, who do not get any literature of such kind because of their ignorance of such literature existing. And yet your membership refuses to help the movement. Which is a sad plight. How easy it is for these masses to be misled by the Communist and Proletarian parties, because of the fact that the membership of the S. L. P. does not do its bit to further the growth and enlightenment of the masses. Literature in attics and cellars will not educate those who are ignorant of such a worthy party as the S. L. P. I have attended meetings of all aforementioned and I find that the S. L. P. is the only Party.

"That of course does not signify that I am more intelligent than those who do not know of its existence, but I came in direct contact with S. L. P. men and read a few copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Had I read the *Daily Worker* and been ignorant of the S. L. P., I would follow Communism or the circus clowns. I hope you make an appeal to the membership and the readers of your paper to pass said paper to people who would profit by

such readings as the WEEKLY PEOPLE has in each week.

"I remain yours for revolution,

"Friend S. L. P."

*

There is another matter that I wish to speak about—a small matter it may appear to bring into a national report, but small matters are going to be increasingly important from now on.

I am going to approach it in a roundabout way. Comrade Taylor when he came back from his trip said to me, "What struck me the most forcefully as needed right now even more than general agitation is for the Sections to mould themselves into efficient working units of the Party. In many cases they are dreadfully inept and lacking in efficiency." I answered that I recognized both the fact and the need. While our pride is "S. L. P. discipline" and there is no doubt about the S. L. P.'s being able to enforce discipline in large matters concerning its well-defined and clear-cut principles, in our general business in the Sections, we have all too often got into easy-going habits that will be hard to break. For some twenty-five years or more we have "held on," merely held on. In each Section there was a nucleus of staunch old timers who saw to it that the routine work was done. There wasn't much work to do at the best, there was no danger of any great influx of green material, so there appeared no good reason why we could not work leisurely and on a more or less mutual plan. At least, that's what we did in most cases, and now the result of this comes home to roost in a whole lot of bad habits which must

be eradicated at once and completely if the organization is to be able to fulfil its destiny. New members are coming to come in in goodly numbers and now on; they must be taught S. L. P. discipline from the start and from the bottom up, or they will turn out a source of mischief instead of splendid Party material. And the place to teach discipline is in the Section, and to do so the Section must be in excellent and well-disciplined working order.

A comrade of one of the New York Sections the other day was heard to brag about his own Section's swift and "efficient" way of doing business and by way of demonstration pointed to one of the sister Sections, showing how this Section "wasted time" — "it took it about two hours to elect its officers while we did in fifteen minutes." Another member of his Section picked up: "Yes, but perhaps if we had taken a little more than fifteen minutes and had given some care and thought to our selections, and had balloted carefully instead of merely saying yes to the first name put, we would have avoided the mistakes we did in putting new and inexperienced members into responsible positions, just because they were ready to accept anything — a carelessness of ours that only brought us trouble afterwards." I then recited this to show that time-saving is very often time-wasting. Work well done and which is *done* when done is never time wasted.

Now what I am directly concerned with in this relation is careless work as it affects us at this end, and inefficiency in the Sections affects us locally.

Comrade De Leon once said of

Comrade Kuhn, when Kuhn was National Secretary, that he had fought such a desperate battle with Party poverty that he had become penny wise and pound foolish. Kuhn was not the only one. The whole Party has more or less fallen victim to this vice. The agony that a Section official will go through to save a two-cent stamp must sometimes be awful, but it is nothing to the agony he may put us to. To save themselves two minutes at most in addressing an extra envelope they will cause hours of waste of time down here—and I am not exaggerating. While perhaps a half dozen letters a day came to headquarters, it did not matter much to whom they were addressed. There was plenty of time to handle the mail. But now it is different. On a Monday morning I have seen the National Secretary with a stack of mail a foot high. The PEOPLE has to go to press Monday noon. In order that it may get off the press by the printer's quitting time. If we are late in finishing, the printer has to work overtime and there is not only the devil to pay but good Party money too—and not two cents either.

It seems impossible to get some of our people to realize that there are different departments at headquarters and what they are. Subscriptions and changes of address they *will* send to the Editor; articles and announcements and various things that concern the editorial office *solely*, they send to Petersen. Now it is Monday morning and we are working under pressure to finish the paper by noon. So I am on pins and needles all morning nagging Comrade Petersen about going through his mail, no matter what

else he has to do. And if we both should lose our tempers before noon, who can wonder—but what does that matter? The Section has saved two cents. If the time of three or four people is wasted waiting for the last announcement, what does it matter? It is no good saying that Comrade Petersen could quickly slit his mail open and see if there were any announcements. An announcement of an important meeting may be subtly interwoven in a long, detailed report or letter. That is not at all unusual.

Anxious as we are, naturally, to aid the Sections in their work, a positive rule will have to be made that no announcements can be accepted on Monday morning unless they be addressed directly to the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Some meetings for a time no doubt will suffer for this. But so that the cause may be thoroughly understood I have taken pains to explain this small though very important matter through this report. An important campaign lies before us. Announcements of meetings are important. Therefore, order and efficiency are increasingly important.

*

There is another thing in this same connection that it is necessary to take note of before we enter the campaign. I had endless trouble with it last campaign.

The National Office and the WEEKLY PEOPLE are two distinct Party institutions. Each has its own function. Documents, reports, state and local platforms and the like may be sent to each of us, but for different reasons. Such documents sent to the WEEKLY PEOPLE are considered for publication. Sent to the National Office, it is

taken for granted they are for the information of the National Secretary and the Sub-Committee, and for the Party files. That is where they go and the Editor naturally never sees them. Yet repeatedly documents are sent to Comrade Petersen that are intended for publication, without a word to that effect either. The Editor does not get them of course. Pretty soon a complaint arrives: "What was the matter with our so-and-so that it wasn't published when everybody else's so-and-so of a later date was already published?" Then I have to announce in the Letter Box or by letter that I can't publish what I don't get. Then another letter: "I mailed it at such and such a time to Comrade Petersen." Then I have to stop my work, stop Comrade Petersen from his work and find out whether he got so-and-so at such and such a time. A month or two may have passed and naturally he can't remember all the hundreds of things that have arrived. So he has to stop some one else from other work to dig out of the files—and there it is. Time and money wasted.

Of course, this is not altogether perversity on the part of our membership. It is partly due to bad habits, as I said, which we fell into when bad habits mattered little. We can't afford to indulge them any more, they are becoming too expensive. Partly it is lack of understanding of the conditions under which we work. We can't continue to carry on a business as large as ours is bound to be this campaign in any other than a business-like manner, and that can be done only by each department running so that it does not grate on the nerves nor

the time of everybody else. The delegates, who have been here, of course understand these things easily, and you can, therefore, help to explain the importance of such seemingly small matters.

Revolutionist Labor Party discipline is not now on concern, not only the lofty principles and broad general tactics of the Party; discipline must extend down to the smallest cog in the smallest wheel in the Party machinery so necessary to carry out the principles and tactics of the Party.

To be sure, I do not want to convey the impression that what I have just complained of is a general evil. Far from it. Most of the Sections are efficiently efficient and more and more capable and businesslike carrying their duty with understanding and despatch. It is that we want to encourage. Slovenliness, even in a few places, however, is sufficient to put the entire machinery out of gear. The duty of the Sections from now on is to choose its officers and committees with the utmost care, and to give them every aid to carry out their duty in a businesslike manner. The day of easy-going is past.

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Still another matter in relation to our official organ concerns the membership so intimately that I feel the necessity of speaking about it. Space is getting to be more and more of a problem. There was a time when our six pages were big, when a letter or two, a report or two, reports of meetings or otherwise, per articles were about the average. Articles were none too plentiful and we had plenty of space to reprint the Leon editorials, interesting docu-

ments from the past and sometimes even to republish important things from other papers. Gradually this situation changed and during the past year so much material arrived constantly that it appears as if our six pages have dwindled down to next to nothing. Turning to page six, the so-called official page, there was a time when we always had a column or two or even three of run-overs from the front page or articles from the inside pages. Now, with scarcely an advertisement, the page is jammed full of official notices. For many months already the Sub-Committee Minutes have been crowded from page six, taking up space on page five. This ever and anon also happens to the subscription list, generally after we have dropped it out entirely for a couple of weeks, hoping to get space the next week. On page five, the so-called correspondence page, on the other hand, we have not been caught up with the material on hand for months. Sometimes reports of meetings will be so plentiful that they will be three or four weeks old before we can possibly give them space and then, every once in a while, we have to make a few columns of what we call Party Activities and put them in on one of the inside pages, usually reserved for articles. Add to this that we do not use, in scarcely any issue, half the advertising space that we should for our Labor News publications.

Now, what I wish to bring out in this connection is that it has come to the point, unless indeed it would be possible to increase our space considerably, where official notices will have to be confined to the barest announcements of time, place and

speakers, and all embellishments and decorations will have to be left out. What is true of meetings, of course, will have to be equally true of dances, entertainments, picnics and the like. The May Day issue, for example, had nearly two columns of announcements of May Day meetings alone. It used to be that if we had a half column we were doing well. As soon as the campaign opens we shall undoubtedly have three or four speakers in the field at once. Announcements are important, of course, but they cannot be allowed to choke us.

Equally important with space considerations in connection with announcements is that in connection with reports of meetings. This matter is even worse because in case of a pinch we can always cut down the official notices to the minimum, but a letter cannot easily be cut down without being rewritten, and for that, of course, we have no time, and besides, it is naturally impossible for us to do the reporting for the Section. If, on the other hand, I should try to tell the press committees that they were intruding on our space, the writer who has been working hard and is anxious to do his best, and very often thinks that the longer and fuller the report is the better it is, is very apt to feel hurt. I had a case not so long ago of a reporter for a Section who wrote reams, thinking it was necessary to try to reproduce the speeches of the speakers. The report of a meeting would not unusually take up four or five columns. When I finally remonstrated with him, telling what the ideal report was, he was exceedingly injured and with the first little disruption in the Sec-

tion, he got out of the Party. It might have gone anyhow, but I always felt that his hurt pride, because his bad reporting methods had been criticized—very mildly indeed—perhaps pushed him toward the side of the disrupters. What I want to bring out is that it is utterly impossible to try to teach any individual by criticism from the editorial office. That is why I am trying to make this general. Reports of meetings should be short and to the point. A paragraph or two, at most, should sum up the important points of the lecture, and the acceptance of the speech by the audience. A short paragraph alone should be devoted to the question period and the sale of literature, an important item which should not be forgotten.

Moreover, it is bad in more than one way to attempt to report the speeches verbally. They are not taken down short-hand, of course, and it takes a very skilled reporter to report a speech, in any sort of completeness, fairly. Speakers repeatedly complain of having been misinterpreted in such reports. Then speakers such as our organizers and presidential candidates, of course, do not deliver a new speech in every place. The consequence is that if it is hashed over and over in the columns of the PEOPLE, it has lost its freshness to the readers of the PEOPLE when the speaker appears before them. Naturally the case is not improved if the speech is written up at times so that it looks none too good in print. This, then, is a matter that cannot be too strongly impressed and insisted upon with the Sections. The press committee, who is, of course, in a manner the local reporter to the

WEEKLY PEOPLE, should be a person who can write well—the best in the Section—and who knows how to condense. This is not always an easy matter but it can be learned with a little training. I have seen three reports that I consider good: one, March 16, 1929, Patrick Clifford reporting the Kuhn meeting in Troy; another, September 5, 1931, Jenn Tock of Boston reporting on the outdoor campaign of the Section; the third, February 7, 1931, Eric Hass, reporting a special agitation meeting by Reynolds at Madison, New Jersey. None of these takes up more than a half column of space and yet they get in all the essentials.

Exhibit One.

COMRADE KUHN IN TROY.

In the Weekly People—On Sunday, February 24, Comrade Henry Kuhn of New York City was the speaker at the Socialist Labor Party dinner in Troy, N. Y. Comrade P. J. Clifford was chairman. Comrade Kuhn's subject was "Imperialism, the Latest Phase of Capitalism." The audience of about one hundred people was apparently pleased beyond their expectations with the manner in which he treated the subject and answered questions.

Comrade Kuhn gave a dispassionate, scholarly exposition of the economic development of capitalism in the United States, pointing out that America for the first time in its history has become an imperialistic country. Mass production has reached such a point of efficiency that American products must find their outlet in foreign markets. The speaker also touched upon the sig-

nificance of the recent 274 million dollar cruiser bill, which implies that America must be ready to join other nations in imperialistic conquests, that another war is inevitable, and that the next war will be so catastrophic in its scope that the last war will be a picnic in comparison.

The question period proved most interesting, particularly Comrade Kuhn's reply to the question about the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The dignified and logical manner in which the speaker answered the Socialist party and Communist party members earned the respect and good will of all the people present.

The collection amounted to \$26.07, and the sale of literature totaled \$9.60. Also one yearly subscription for our official organ, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, was sold.

Patrick J. Clifford.

Troy, N. Y., February 26.

Exhibit Two.

PROGRESSIVE AGITATION.

To the Weekly People—The new place for outdoor agitational work adopted by the agitational committee has revolutionized Section Boston's propaganda activities. Whereas formerly, due to the limited number of speakers, only three or four definite groups of workers heard the message of the S. L. P. each season, under the new plan meetings are held for five consecutive weeks in one territory, then the center of attack is moved elsewhere. Thus our speakers come in contact with greater numbers of workers, and spread S. L. P. propaganda over a far greater area.

The series of five meetings held

at Columbus Square and Malden have come to an end. At both places, the meetings were well attended and PEOPLES were sold as well as could be expected in crowds of non-workers, or "fearful-for-their-job" workers.

A new series was opened at Woodrow Ave., Dorchester, and at Hansun Street, Boston. The first meeting at Woodrow Ave. caused quite a stir. Last year's experience with the foaming-at-the-mouth Communists brought out Section Boston's brawniest, but apparently the Communists have burned themselves out or have left town en masse, for the meeting was attended by an interested and well behaved group of workers who listened, approved and bought PEOPLES. At Hansun Street the meetings have attracted about 200 people. WEEKLY PEOPLES have sold very well there.

As for the speakers, the burden of all the outdoor work rests on the shoulders of a group pathetically small in number but vigorous and well equipped, consisting of Comrades Aiken, Adler, Brotman, Gilfedder, Manevitz, Williams, Oram and Waterman, all but Gilfedder and Brotman veterans, and the two lat-

ter falling into step, studying, developing a commendable technique in speaking.

Jean B. Tock.
Roxbury, Mass., August 20.

Another model letter by Comrade Hass on a special meeting, "The Kiwanis Hears the Word," will be included in the published report sent to the membership. Special features that took place at that meeting are clearly and concisely related by Comrade Hass. (See Appendix I.)

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The times are auspicious. We do not know what we shall have to face before we meet again four years from now—we may even never meet again under conditions similar to these.

We know only one thing. The Socialist Labor Party is the only force organized with principles, program and tactics capable of leading the Social Revolution which is knocking at the door.

Prepare for the day!

Fraternally submitted,
OLIVE M. JOHNSON

New York, N.Y.,
April 30, 1932.

APPENDIX.

A.

Platform of the Socialist Labor Party.

Capital systems and their corresponding forms of government come to being as results of social forces working for social progress. The purpose of governments is ostensibly to insure life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness of the useful members of society.

Whenever a society fails in or becomes destructive of these ends, it has self-evidently outlived its usefulness, rendering it imperative for the exploited and oppressed class to organize its forces to put an end to the outworn social system.

Such a crucial period of history is befalling humanity today, and in view of this the Socialist Labor Party in National Convention assembled, May 1, 1932, reaffirms its former platform declarations and in accord with international Socialist principles declares:

The history of mankind has been a struggle for progress, taking the form of struggles for power between contending classes. Whenever a ruling class had fulfilled its mission, and its interests ceased to be in harmony with social interests, it was supplanted by the class below, which, by increasing economic and political powers, attained its revolutionary goal. This class, in turn, became a carrier of social progress until it had outlived its usefulness and, becoming reactionary and a stumbling block in the path of humanity, had to give way before the combined

forces of social progress and a new revolutionary class.

With capitalism there remain in society just two contending classes, the capitalist class and the working class—the capitalist class, the owner of the means of production, which ownership today is wholly destructive of the life, liberty and happiness of the mass of the people; and the working class whose interests demand the abolition of private ownership in the means of life.

The interests of the working class demand the institution of collective ownership and control, guaranteeing to all the right to work, and by securing to all the full fruits of their labor, ending for all time the destructive class wars which have up to now torn humanity asunder.

For forty years the Socialist Labor Party has been moving upward toward this historic moment.

The capitalist system is now creaking and breaking in every joint and cranny. It is no more "on trial" than a horse-drawn vehicle is on trial beside a powerful motor van. Capitalism is outworn, obsolete, ready for the museum of social history. A mere glance at the world situation should suffice to convince even the dullest of this forceful fact.

Economic bonds have snapped; social bonds are dissolving. As a result, factories are closing down, machinery stands idle and rusts, until from ten to twelve million working men and women of this country are idle and they and their dependents stand bereft of food, clothing and shelter. The million mass of the

people, the world over, are starving and dying, surrounded by tremendous wealth created by their own labor. Workers are unable to find work, to secure the necessities of life.

The Socialist Labor Party has ceaselessly pointed out the inevitable doom of the capitalist system of production and distribution:

has pointed to the fact that "free" competition—one of the beatitudes of the system—was inevitably leading to the elimination of the small, and gradually not so small either, business men and manufacturers;

has shown that the cumulative effect of the gigantic machines of production in fewer and fewer hands would be so tremendous as to get beyond the possibility of control by the few industries;

has demonstrated beyond doubt that the capitalist profit system was built and could exist only on the exploitation of labor;

that this exploitation with the aid of the machines was becoming so tremendous that it would eventually become absolutely impossible for the capitalist expropriators to dispose of this surplus in either domestic or foreign markets;

that this "stolen goods" would eventually accumulate and lie like an incubus on the chest of humanity, preventing it from breathing and living while a multi-million army of unemployed would tramp the streets and highways unable to find the wherewithal to live.

This state of social dissolution is now upon us.

When a social system has reached

the point of utter dissolution, when the bonds that held it together are snapping, ruling class interests eagerly offer palliatives and reforms to stave off the impending doom of the system. It is so with capitalism. In various disguises, but moved with one purpose, various agents of capitalism appear, holding out alluring promises of reform or ers. But there can be no relief to a revolutionary class within a social system that is doomed.

Where a social revolution is pending and, for whatever reason, is not accomplished, reaction is the alternative. Every reform granted by capitalism is a concealed measure of reaction. He who says reform says preservation, and he who says that reforms under capitalism are possible and worth while thereby declares that a continuation of capitalism is possible and worth while. But capitalism has grown into an all-devouring and all-destroying monster that must be destroyed if humanity is to live.

At this crucial moment the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the working class of America, more deliberately serious than ever before, to rally at the polls under the Party's banner.

The Socialist Labor Party also calls upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict and insane contradictions between unlimited wealth and wealth production, and the poverty and wretchedness suffered by those

whose labor created all this wealth.

We call upon them to place the means of production and all the means of production and distribution in the hands of the useful producers as an organized industrial body, under a national industrial administration to take the place of the present political or territorial government. And we further call upon the workers to hasten this work of social and human regeneration to the end that a speedy termination may be put to the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder, substituting for it the Anarchist or Industrial Commonwealth of Emancipated Labor — a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the factors of modern civilization.

B.

Resolution on Economic Organization.

The labor movement throughout the world has found its expression in two distinct fields, the political party and the economic union. Without either of these the movement is crippled. Because of this intimate and inevitable relation between the political and economic organizations of labor, the Socialist Labor Party in National Convention assembled in New York City, May, 1909, reaffirms its former position on the necessity of Industrial Union organization, viz.:

"The bona fide or revolutionary Socialist movement, needs the political as well as the economic

organization of labor, the former for propaganda and to conduct the struggle for the conquest of the capitalist-controlled Political State upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot, without which force all balloting is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lockout of the capitalist class.

"Without the political organization, the labor or Socialist movement could not attain the hour of its triumph; and without the economic organization, the day of its triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure and simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; and without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement; therefore, in order to maintain the uncompromising policies and tactics, the Socialist Labor Party of America condemns all efforts to blur the lines of the class struggle, by whomsoever attempted, efforts that aim at misleading the working class on the political field into middle class movements and confounding it with middle class issues; and on the economic field would seek to confine all efforts at working class organization to a 'boring from within' collaboration with the capitalist-controlled labor lieutenants of the pure and simple craft unions."

The economic organization of the workers under each changing status

of the development of the capitalist system has sprung directly out of the conditions at the time, based ever upon the given facts in production, unfortunately hanging on long after its usefulness is ended.

Prior to the Civil War unions were isolated and sporadic as was capitalist industry itself. The strikes for higher wages and shorter hours were usually successful because labor was scarce and the great west lay open to migration.

Following the Civil War and the growth of foreign immigration new conditions set in. The country was growing and building up apace. The average American was a jack-of-all-trades. He could jump from one kind of work to another, from one part of the country to another. The Knights of Labor, with its undefined union groupings, reflected completely these facts of American production and development. With increasing factory and railroad expansion came the demand for skilled labor, and the trade union, the American Federation of Labor, had its day. Each craft built a wall around itself by high dues and high initiation fees, kept out apprentices and other applicants, and, in fact, formed a complete job trust. These tactics, as far as a few favored crafts were concerned, succeeded as long as the demand for skilled craftsmen existed.

These tactics were totally suicidal to labor and the labor movement. They divided the working class into union men and "scabs," the ins and outs, those organizable on trade bases and the great mass totally unorganizable in accord with A. F. of L. theories. They raised an enmity

between these groups of which the capitalist class could not fail to take advantage to the ultimate defeat of the workers as a whole. Leaders of labor, labor fakers, entrenched themselves in these unions, selling out labor to capitalism and becoming, in fact, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." But the social soil was again shifting. With the tremendous increase in machinery which followed the turn of the century, the facts in production no longer favored craft unionism. Whole crafts died out; industry opened the doors to untrained labor. Craft unionism is now as obsolete as is the old blacksmith shop. The remnants of it can carry on only as out-and-out rackets, and intimidation, arson, even murder have developed into accepted craft union tactics.

Alongside the faker-led craft union the classconscious Socialist union has struggled for place. It has been uphill work, but the idea thereof is now firmly rooted in large masses of the workers, and is struggling for concrete expression.

During the nineties the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance gave forth the idea of a classconscious union organization embracing the shop, mill, mine and factory "from top to bottom." With still broader vision the I. W. W. called for the organization of the workers on industrial lines, not only for the conduct of the day to day class struggle, but with the purpose in view of taking, holding and operating industry, and it recognized at first the inevitable unity between the political and the economic movements of labor.

However ripe the conditions were a quarter of a century ago for

Industrial Union, workers were not sufficiently prepared for it. Mental anarchy reigned, the American Federation of Labor was still powerful and was preaching its perfunctory doctrine of the brotherhood of capital and labor, backed by the Socialist party, which was catching its apoplexy with all sorts of reform. The capitalist system itself was in a process of expansion and development, and to the average worker a hundred years away, while the hope of improving present conditions possessed him powerfully. Between anarchy and hope of present betterment the I. W. W. totally degenerated. Only the IDEA of revolutionary industrial organization continued to march on.

The war and its aftermath scattered utter confusion among the American workers. The A. F. of L. decayed. The I. W. W. was wrecked. The Socialist party, for a long time beset with internecine warfare, split in several parts. The "Left Wing," later so-called Communists, supposedly sickened by Socialist party compromise and political dealing with Republicans and Democrats and its reformism in general, departed to start a new party. But having been utterly corrupted mentally before departure, these burlesque Communists took with them the entire mass of S. P. reform notions, which they have tried hard since to paint red with reported Russian revolutionary phrases. Among the notions they took with them from the S. P. was a peculiar reverence for the American Federation of Labor; the conception that it was a real labor

union and that to accomplish anything with labor they must "bore from within" the present trade unions. The Communists have "bored" and "bored themselves out" and have simply succeeded in adding to the present confusion resulting from the breaking up camp of the A. F. of L.

They have started all sorts of "cells," leagues and "mass unions," existing only on paper, and which are no more industrial than was the old Knights of Labor, because they are not patterned upon the human, social organism which springs from the productive mechanism of today. To add to the confusion, they are even starting "unemployed unions," creating division and antagonism between those at work and those who cannot find a job. Spasmodic, unorganized strikes are promoted, by which the workers are led out to be defeated one battalion at the time, even more helpless against the capitalist class than were ever the craft-divided A. F. of L. unions. In every case where large strikes have been fomented, the workers have been completely beaten, and not a remnant of their organization exists. Disgust and discouragement are alone left in their wake. On the economic as well as on the political field, the Communists, honeycombed by spies and capitalist agents, are the most sinister force in the labor movement today.

However, the Revolutionary Industrial Union idea is spreading. Workers are commencing to realize that productively they are cogs and wheels, composed of brain and muscle, in a giant social mechanism of production. The idea is permeating the wide layers of the workers in

shop and factory. But the structure of Socialist Industrial Unionism does not lend itself to the starting of sporadic small and scattered unions. Not only would these be easily defeated and scattered by capitalist attack but they would, in the nature of things, be no Industrial Unions at all. Isolated organizations that from now on are bound to spring up, should aim at nothing more drastic than to hold together and maintain organization until large groups of workers get ready to move. Whole industries, related industries, groups of industries, thus only are the workers invulnerable, non-defeatable.

For the worker today there is no hope except through social revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of wealth production. The Socialist Labor Party advocates this change on the political field, establishing through the ballot our revolutionary right to abolish the present corrupt Political State and to institute an Industrial Government. But the Revolutionary Industrial Union of Labor alone can furnish the power with which to enforce the mandate of the ballot box. Economic power is the real power. With industry at our command the revolution is won.

The workers must organize in shop, mill, mine, factory, on the railroads and on the land to take hold and operate the means of production. That is Socialism. That is the Industrial Republic of Labor.

Workers, rise in your might, organize to end wage slavery and starvation.

All power to the Socialist Industrial Union!

C.

Resolution on the International Socialist Movement

Long before the outbreak of the war it had become evident to the Marxian Socialist that tendencies were creeping into the International Socialist Movement that were decidedly unhealthy.

In fact, in 1875, when the two Socialist wings of Germany the Marxists and the Lassalleans were about to unite, Marx issued a circular letter, intended especially for some of the leaders of the Marxist wing. In this letter, Marx analyzes and condemns the program under which the fusion was to be perfected, as "bourgeois," "objectionable," "demoralizing," a "dickering in principles," a proof that "Socialist ideas were only skin deep with the party"; and he warned that "everybody knows how pleased workingmen are with the fact of a union, but [he added] you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly." And Bebel, then in prison for his revolutionary attitude, issued from his confinement a letter of protest declaring "he could not join in the fusion, and when his nine months were out, he would raise the banner of revolt against it." — The warning was disregarded; the bourgeois-labeled program was adopted; the threatened revolt never set in.

Quite to the contrary, the German Social Democracy sank gradually into what was known as "parliamentary cretinism," i.e., idiocy, entirely abandoning the tactics laid down at an early date by the So-

cialist delegates in the Reichstag. The body should assert itself as a protesting voice only, keeping entirely aloof from parliamentary negotiations, a policy admirably elucidated by the older Liebknecht:

This negative position may not seem up, else the party would give up its principle. Under no circumstances and on no field may the Social Democracy negotiate with the bourgeoisie. Negotiations can be conducted only where there is a common ground to stand on. To negotiate with forces that are hostile on matters of principle, means to sacrifice principle itself. Principle is inviolable. It is either wholly kept, or wholly sacrificed. The slightest concession on matters of principle implies the abandonment of principle. Whosoever parliamentarizes betrays; who log-rolls is bound by compromise."

For more than a quarter of a century the German Social Democracy followed the leadership of the International Socialist Movement. More and more this movement sank into the quagmire of capitalist politics. At last a protesting voice arose (that of the Socialist Labor Party, joined by a few besides), when the French Socialist Millerand accepted a portfolio from the French Government in which sat also General Galliffet, "the butcher of the Commune."

"Millerandism" won the day at the Paris Congress of 1900, and from that time onward "ministerial Socialism" and the possibility of parliamentary "cooperation of classes" were at least condoned by the International, even though not openly endorsed. The Socialist party of America trailed faithfully in

the tracks of the German Social Democracy and reformism was written boldly into its platform, and compromise and political trading with capitalist parties became part of its accepted tactics.

Only a few voices were raised in the International against the dangerous road the movement was now following, and loudest of these was always the clear-sounding Marxian voice of delegate Daniel De Leon of the Socialist Labor Party of America. But in the flush of seeming success that was gathering up millions of votes, few cared to listen to a few "fanatics" who were still "harping on the class struggle." The "fanatics" of the Socialist Labor Party stuck to their position, however, so to this Party at least it was no surprise when the German Social Democracy and with it the entire Second International collapsed at the moment of the outbreak of the war, that the leaders each in their own camp turned "social patriots" and scurried to the aid of their respective governments against the "foreign enemy" despite the fact of previous long fraternal resolutions to the effect of the internationalism of the working class.

Thus closed an epoch in the Socialist movement, an epoch that leaves practically nothing behind except its severe lessons.

And after the close of the war the lessons continued. The Second International attempted to stage a revival. What it has done is simply to furnish props for tottering capitalist states. Ebert, Sudekum and Scheidemann of Germany, Millerand of France, Vandervelde of Belgium, Stauning of Denmark, Branting of Sweden, and last, but not

least, Snowden and MacDonald of Great Britain testify eloquently to this fact.

With conditions in every country in a state of social decay, with misery stalking abroad, any crossing of currents could easily precipitate a revolutionary upheaval. Conservative, avowedly capitalist politicians at the helm would serve only to irritate the masses; the soothing influence of the "plebs leader," the "friend of labor," the would-be Socialist, has served admirably in many a crisis to direct the revolutionary current into the ground. Traitor to the working class and to the Socialist movement is too mild a term for these renegades.

There was another current in the International, not a wit less treacherous than the out-and-out traitors. These were the compromisers, those who with one side of their mouth condemned the cooperation of classes and with the other tolerated it for the sake of "harmony" to hold together a movement that deserved to be ripped asunder. These, the Kautskys, Adlers, etc., have since the war attempted to start another International, the Vienna, the so-called Two and a Half International. They met only what they well deserved, derision from both camps, and their effort was still-born.

The voice of the Third, the Communist, International rose from Russia out of the Bolshevik Revolution. It was in some respects an inspiring note. Clearly it defined the class struggle; uncompromisingly it condemned alike the social patriotic traitors and watchdogs of capitalism; without hesitation it repelled the advances of the Socialist party of America to cover its own revolu-

tionary nakedness with the revolutionary fig-leaves of the Third International. So far so good.

But the lesson, among others, the history of forty years has taught us is that the leader of the International Socialist movement must itself be in the lead. The remnant of feudalistic conditions in Germany had much to do with its tendency to reformism of the Social Democracy. In Russia, although Socialism is the goal toward which the Bolsheviks are working, the country is still so industrially backward that its principal struggle for years to come must be to lay the industrial and social foundation which to build a Socialist society. Moreover, the conditions under which it accomplished its own revolution were so primitive, so barbarically crude that the Socialist leaders of Russia—busy with their own tremendous task—cannot possibly grasp the situation nor comprehend the necessary tactics in a country where social, political and industrial development has prepared the ground so thoroughly for the Socialist Revolution and Socialist reconstruction of Society as is the case with the United States.

This fact, and the blindness of the Russian leaders to this fact have caused them to repel totally the clearest elements in the Socialist movement—everywhere, either drawing them back to the old Social Democracies in hope of reforming them from within, or compelling them, as in the case of the Socialist Labor Party—to stand alone and fight the battle single-handed.

But if that were all, it would not be so bad. The Third International has done worse. In its

effort to appear as an Internationalist it has taken to its bosom the most ill, loud-mouthed, anarchistic elements that everywhere have found on the loose-jointed Social Democracy, and which fell away from it in the turmoil of the war. In our country, at least, this so-called Communist party is further corrupted by being infested with agents provocateurs, to the extent that such are known. They have written platforms and resolutions for the Communist party, have served as delegates to International conferences, and to have adopted tactics, led parades, sung "International" and in other ways deported themselves so as to ruin the revolutionary movement and its reputation and make it a laughing stock of all sensible persons. As this condition exists and persists, it is self-evident that the Third International itself cannot command respect either from the Socialist or the enemy camp.

In view of these facts and adopting the general principle laid down by the exponents of scientific Socialism, including Nicolai Lenin, that the true way in which to be an Internationalist is to work incessantly and with all means at the command for the Socialist Revolution in our own country, the Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled in May 1932, declaring its allegiance to the general principles of International Socialism as laid down by Marx and Engels, reiterating the clear-cut adherence to the class struggle as formulated by De Leon at every International Congress he attended, placed itself in the position of the vanguard of the Socialist movement

to which its long adherence to the above principles has unqualifiedly entitled it, and declares itself compelled to hold its solitary position until such a time as a clear-cut classconscious Marxian Socialist movement shall have arisen in other lands ready to reject, on the one hand, the "bourgeois reform socialism" of the Second International, and, on the other, the Anarcho-Communism that has attached itself to and operates under the label of the Third International.

At the same time we take the opportunity to extend the hand in fraternal relationship to the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, our sister organization, severely crippled for a time by the action of "intellectual" whippersnappers and self-seekers who had wormed their way into it, but cleared of whom the movement is again showing signs of activity and old-time vigor; and also to the groups which elsewhere in English-speaking countries are struggling to establish the S. L. P. movement. The conditions are ripe for clear-cut classconscious Socialist political and industrial organization. The future belongs to the Socialist Labor Party.

D.

Resolution on Industrial Feudalism.

For half a century the internal development of American capitalism has pointed clearly in two directions—one toward the abolition of the system the instant it had reached the point of inevitable collapse by

the classconscious act of the working class growing steadily in perception of this its historic mission, and the other, the temporary retrenchment for some indefinite period of capitalist class power through the system of capitalist political dictatorship named by the Socialist Labor Party Industrial Feudalism, from its analogy to a previous historic status.

Throughout the American industrial era, entrenched privilege has repeatedly deported itself toward the wage working class as a feudal lord did to his serfs, an absolute master toward his slaves. Industrial towns have sprung up where the company controls everything, not only the mills, mines or factories as the case might be, but also the houses in which the workers live, the stores, the water works, the light and heat plants, the schools, the clubs and the churches. What is this but serfdom on a local and restricted scale?

Nor is this serfdom any more degrading when it is covered, as it frequently is today, by the capitalist paternalism known as "welfare work"—in fact, this only tends to make it the more degrading, since the capitalist exploiter of labor assumes the role of a dispenser of blessings which the exploited slave accepts, constantly prodded into being cheerful and thankful for "favors" which in reality are nothing more than the padding on the harness of a dray horse to keep it from chafing him so that he may work all the better. To this welfare work has of late been added another feudalistic feature, the company union, the clear and unvarnished purpose of which is to keep

all organized expression of workers—when it cannot be totally prevented—under control of the industrial lord and master through his own trusted agents and thus preventing the spirit of the working class from recording dissatisfaction or from assuming a revolutionary direction.

Repeatedly, the "lordly," feudalistic nature of the capitalist mode has asserted itself in a fashion that leaves him not an iota behind his feudal predecessor in arbitrary dictatorship and cruelty. Let but the worker stand up and ever so modestly assert his manhood and the capitalist will metamorphose instantly from a paternal, welfare-dispensing guardian to a beastly, overbearing and bloodthirsty overlord. Only a few historic events need be designated to remind the workers of these undeniable facts: The McCormick Harvester machinery shop strike with the Haymarket outrage and the framed conviction and hanging of the so-called Chicago Anarchists, a capitalist class outrage later exposed by Governor Altgeld of Illinois; the Pullman and the A.R.U. strikes; the Idaho "Bull Pen"; the Homestead steel strike; the struggle throughout the mining districts of Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, etc.; the repeated attempts of textile mill serfs of asserting their manhood in Massachusetts, New Jersey or points south of the Mason-Dixon line. These and many less advertised struggles between capitalism and labor attest the fury with which the capitalist class pursues its slaves and puts down any attempt at rebellion.

At the present time the situation in the Kentucky mine fields is shock-

ing enough to stir every decent man and woman in the country. The mining regions in that state are controlled by the Mellon-Morgan-Insull interests. The miners have ever been the slaves of their industrial masters. Unemployment in the mines and the general breakdown of industry and mining all around have made the situation utterly unbearable.

The workers, on strike and the unemployed alike, are in a state of reaction. Thugs, sheriffs and state police forces are acting in unison total to crush the spirit of the workers. Starving, ragged, cold, evicted from their homes the workers are facing unbearable misery. Relief work-sympathizers, newspaper men, investigators are prevented by state and bodily injuries from entering the affected district, even to bring relief. In the meantime, leaders of the workers stepping out of the rank and file are brutally manhandled or "legally" framed and sent away in prison for long terms of years. These actions of industrial tyrants equal those of the worst feudal princes of history.

The Political State has ever been the instrument of the ruling class for keeping the slave class in submission. In the various cases mentioned above, the political strong arm—police, sheriffs, troopers, military and national army—have been the force with which to quell the spirit of the workers, and mayors, governors and presidents and courts have ever been ready tools, serving the industrial masters by extending to them the various "legitimate" methods of suppression controlled by the various departments of the Political State. The general collapse of the capitalist system and the ever

greater threat offered by the revolutionary working class have caused the capitalist class to look with ever greater hope and desire toward a political dictator.

Economically the power within the capitalist system has concentrated so that, according to the analysis and estimate of James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany, fifty-nine men, through interlocking directorates, actually control the country's wealth as well as its productive capacity. The planless, crazy, anarchistic, competitive system—what remains of it as well as the theories that lie behind it—has become a source of annoyance as well as danger to this concentrated ruling class. With one eye cocked on Russia, "planned production" is getting to be a consummation devoutly desired. Planned production under capitalism could, however, mean only the limiting of production to the few gigantic corporations easily able to supply all markets, while legal regulation would help to perform the last operation and end the final agony of the dying middle class.

It is certain that if capitalism collapses totally before Socialism is organized to take its place, some sort of a system will have to operate. This can be only Industrial Feudalism which, in fact, is Socialism stood on its head—in other words, planned production with the middle class eliminated, and the powerful corporate capitalists in full control of industry, and with the workers as their abject slave-serfs, fed and cared for as beasts of burden are fed and cared for. The mandates of this Industrial Feudal aristocracy would then have to be carried out

through the Political State with a dictator in full control.

For if the capitalist class takes an interest in Russia it watches with eagerness the performances of that super-egotistic bully, Mussolini of Italy, as well as the development of Hitler, the half lunatic saberrattler of Germany. Fascism contains all the essentials of concentrated national Industrial Feudalism, ordered from a concentrated group through the Political State and a political dictator. The capitalist system is unmistakably drifting toward Industrial Feudalism and the dictator, and as sure as it is that darkness follows sunset, so surely is this capitalism's sole solution to its problem of degeneracy and collapse, should the working class fail in its historic mission—the Social Revolution and the establishment of the Workers' Socialist Industrial Republic.

But the working class of America cannot afford to fail in this important historic task. The industrial and social stage is prepared for it as it is for no other workers in the whole world. And, moreover, a victory of the workers of America would be an inspiration beyond words to the downtrodden of other lands.

In view of all these facts, the Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled in May 1932, calls upon the workers of America to study this grave situation through the clear, elucidating literature of the Party, and to rally to its support in its great task of abolishing capitalism and the Political State, and in organizing Socialist Industrial Unions capable of acting as the great revolutionary might behind the revolutionary right, to prevent the savage

capitalist class from using its fatal military force to drown civilization in blood and perpetuate the system in a degenerate Industrial Feudalism, but on the contrary, after overthrowing capitalism, to reorganize society into a cooperative commonwealth where each person willing to work will be able to do so under conditions of democracy and freedom, and receiving in return the equivalent of the full fruits of his labor.

E.

Resolution on Unemployment

Unemployment is no new phenomenon under capitalism. A "reserve army" of workers has in fact come to be looked upon as part of the system's indispensable equipment. Even during the war, with 4,355,000 shipped abroad or held in training camps, and with industry producing madly for war purposes it could not be said that there was ever a real scarcity of labor power, and during the peak period of "prosperity" from 1925 to 1929, the reserve army of unemployed already had grown to some 4,000,000.

Even with this formidable mass of unemployed, and a so-called boom period in industrial expansion, domestic trade and foreign commerce, there was already gradually becoming discernible an ever greater plethora of products, for the dumping of which on the public a tremendous system of instalment buying was instituted. The wages of the workers were mortgaged for

the, even for years, in the future after the crash of 1929 unemployment grew apace. This was always the result of complete stagnation. It soon became evident that another element was at the bottom of this unemployment crisis. Industrial engineering experts named "technological unemployment." To the scientific Socialist there was no remedy in the situation.

During the war and for purposes of destruction industry had exploded out of all proportion to ordinary requirements. New inventions and discoveries were produced and taken advantage of to the limit. After the close of the war, it took some years to readapt this enormous productive machine to peace purposes. From 1925 to 1929 it was grinding out products incessantly with all our boasted prosperity and the supposed phenomenal purchasing power of the mass of the people, the storehouses were becoming overloaded.

Then the inevitable crash. Five, six, eight, ten, twelve million workers out of employment, and many more working only part-time at greatly reduced wages. And for all this, look wherever we will, there is evident the same overabundance of products; food, clothing, houses are crying for purchasers, luxuries calling for users. All this makes it self-evident that the machines are now so powerful and efficient that with a few hours' human labor a week, given by all, they can produce unlimited plenty for every human being. Amidst such plenty, the workers of America are starving, freezing, degenerating, dying.

And this situation is not peculiar to the United States. In Canada, men and women are rioting, demanding work and food; in every country in Central and South America unemployment is rife and workers are begging for food or perishing for the lack of it. Great Britain, ever since the war, has found itself in a situation where it either had to feed its millions of unemployed or face certain upheaval. Germany's productive machine has collapsed; Austria and the Balkan States lie prostrate. Even in Italy, where the workers have already been turned into serfs under an Industrial Feudalism known as Fascism, the productive machine is breaking down because of lack of markets for manufactured goods. And now lately, France and the Scandinavian countries, which for reasons of their own were able to face the crisis the longest, are also floundering in the depths, each adding millions to the already appalling army of the world's unemployed.

The productive machine of capitalism has broken down from its own overweight. Over-abundance of riches spells starvation to the masses. In the words of Marx, a social want is manifesting itself in society which is throwing it into revolutionary convulsions. A struggle is on between the capitalist class and the working class, and the object of that struggle can only be the ownership of the means of production—the land on and the tools with which to produce the necessities of life.

At such a historic moment it is useless to talk of reforms that could serve only to patch up a system long ripe for overthrow. To beg for

charity, doles, social insurance, shorter hours or staggered employment, in the face of a situation already so appalling is merely to brand the beggars and pleaders as frauds or fools. Only a complete wiping out of capitalism can abolish its multiple evils.

It is in the light of these facts that the Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled in May 1932, calls upon the working class of America to face these facts, understandingly and with a firm purpose. The problems presented can be met by the working class only by thoroughgoing organization of its overwhelming numbers on the political field under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party for the purpose of wresting from the capitalist minority the powers of state, now held and used for purposes of class domination and for protecting its usurped privileges; and organization on the economic or industrial field for the double purpose:

(a) of setting against the economic power of the capitalist masters the economic power of a united working class, of using that power to safeguard and to enforce if need be the fiat of the ballot, with the revolutionary end in view of terminating, once for all, the devastating rule of the capitalist system and erecting in its stead the Industrial Socialist Republic in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization;

(b) for the purpose of setting up the integral industrial organization units which can and will,

not only carry on production during the period of struggle but bolt the door to anarchy and disorder, but form the framework of the edifice of the Industrial Socialist Republic, a society where class lines will have disappeared and with them the capitalist political State which is but the reflex of class division.

F.

Resolution on Collapse of Capitalism.

The 1928 National Campaign was conducted amidst an orgy of which the capitalists call prosperity. Wages held fairly close to the war level. Buying and selling were brisk, even though a goodly percentage of it consisted in mortgaging the future. Wall Street, and other stock exchanges throughout the country, danced on roses. Brokers' loans, which were running so high as to point a danger signal to the wary, were actually promoted or at least verbally condoned by the President.

A perfect Saturnalia of stock speculation was in progress. "Water" was poured out from Wall Street in every conduit. Almost literally everybody caught the investment fever—professors, doctors and school teachers, clerks, stenographers and elevator operators, carpenters and plumbers, widows and orphans, all had contracted the get-rich-quick fever, all dreamt dreams of dipping gold by the shovel-full out of the Wall Street bucket, without ever giving a single thought to the source from which all this marvelous prosperity had to come.

It was under the spell of this orgy that Herbert Hoover conducted his campaign. As totally ignorant of the economic laws of the capitalist system as even his predecessor, as totally ignorant as is the average capitalist politician and so-called statesman, Mr. Hoover went through the country shouting prosperity. Pointing with pride to the automobiles in the homes of the humblest workers—all "due to Republican prosperity"—he gleefully promised a continuation of this "prosperity," with an ever increasing ratio of automobiles, refrigerators and radios as well as the grand old Republican Party should be retained at the helm of the nation.

Against this voice of a blind man leading the blind there arose no countervailing note except that of the Socialist Labor Party; the words of warning of whose candidate for President are well worth recalling as against the shallow trumpet blasts of Mr. Hoover:

Since the last election the owners of our giant corporations have profited more from labor's toil of brain and muscle than ever before in history....

Yes, there is something very unusual about "our" present "prosperity." To find it and the effect we may expect from it we must study the history of former booms and the crises which followed, as night follows day. For one thing, a genuine market, found heretofore, has positively not been found for present products. In the absence of that market our corporations have to the tune of nine billions of dollars said to us, "Never mind the money, give us your promise to pay—but take away these goods." The same entreaty has

been made to foreign peoples for twelve or thirteen billion dollars, a heretofore unheard of amount. Almost the entire disposal of our surplus goods has been upon a credit basis. Yes, this is very unusual! It is more unusual still that the working class has been the recipient of an unusually large share of this credit. Pianos, radio sets, washing machines, victrolas, automobiles, even houses and lots have been sold to workers. Such workers are not only "broke" but mortgaged for years ahead, with nothing to depend upon but their wages to clear off the debt. This is fine for all concerned so long as the wages come in. But suppose unemployment starts! Then we see all these things start back, in the wrong direction, toward the factories. When this occurs there is first more unemployment, then a crisis ahead. This enormous extension of credit to workers, who without it could not have purchased, is peculiar to this boom alone. Our workers face the future with nothing but debts; our capitalists with terror at the loss of a settlement they hardly hope to receive, either at home or from abroad.

Were these words prophetic? Only in the sense that the "predictions" to the second of the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun by scientists who have mastered the movement of the heavenly bodies is prophetic. The Socialist Labor Party economic scientist is as well equipped to map out the general social currents.

No sooner had Mr. Hoover got himself comfortably established in the White House than the inevitable hurricane broke loose. The card-houses which the innocent dupes of Republican prosperity had built with Wall Street's scraps of paper

tumbled about their cars. October 1929 is written into history as marking the close of an era. That the movement of "back to the factory" with player pianos, radios and refrigerators has not been more rapid than it has is due entirely to the fact that the factories don't want them back. They are already overstocked without them. So they are left where they are stored even at the remotest hope of future payment.

The capitalist spokesmen—utterly oblivious of the far-reaching world significance of what had taken place—prattled about "depression." We had had depressions before, we had got over them only to enjoy great prosperity afterward; we would get over this depression and soon be as prosperous as ever. But as the "depression" continued through 1929, 1930, 1931, without the slightest signs of abating, but quite to the contrary, the cracks in the system became visible even to the purblind spokesmen and beneficiaries of capitalism.

Increasingly greater grows the number of those who are willing to admit that "capitalism is on trial." One of the system's most trusted agents, in fact, has gone so far as to declare that the machinery with which the capitalist system handles its affairs is as out of date as is the old blacksmith shop for producing a turbine engine, and that unless capitalism can improve its works, another system is bound to take its place.

With the beginning of this realization there started a tinkering with the machinery of the system that has been both fearful and wonderful to behold. Only a few of the most glaring propositions can here

be enumerated. Wages had to be kept up so as to keep up the purchasing capacity of the masses without which manufacture was doomed; wages must go down, and were knocked down, so as to give manufacture a chance on a receding market. Taxes were reduced as a first aid to depressed capital; taxes are being increased so as to save the government from threatened bankruptcy.

Tariffs were loaded on importations; "retaliations" from other countries cut foreign trade down to the actual deadline. Wheat, some 330,000,000 bushels of it, was purchased by the government to help the farmers hold the prices; the wheat is now given away to feed the starving regardless of what it does to the market. In response to howls of "Russian competition" and "dumping" set up by a few manufacturers of so-called raw materials, the importation of Russian products was cut off almost completely, and as a result valuable Soviet contracts for manufactured goods were cut off, closing down factories and throwing still more workers out of employment.

Suddenly the harassed capitalist mind became influenced from watching the progress of planned production under the Soviet Government of Russia. Then "plans" became the slogan. Plans would save capitalism. And a multitude of plans, one more preposterous than another, sprang from dizzy craniums of politicians, "economists," engineers and other concoctors of remedies.

That planned production was possible in Russia only because of social ownership and control of all the means of production, and that, on

the contrary, no plan could possibly be workable under the capitalist system of planless production, free competition and general and inevitable anarchy of industry and commerce, did not, and quite naturally, occur to the anxious planners who were already at their wits' end for a remedy.

During the three and one-half years of the "depression" the cracks in the capitalist system have become steadily wider. Banks and other business failures have reached fabulous proportions. The middle class is reduced to penury and decay, the land of the small farmers is passing rapidly into the hands of a few large financial institutions, mortgages are being foreclosed, stocks are tumbling ever lower, industry lies prostrate and all the time unemployment is rising higher and higher. The workers are starving and rotting in the gutters while products of labor, food and raw materials, are being wantonly destroyed in a futile attempt to keep up market prices.

Capitalism is beyond redemption. It has outlived its usefulness in the course of human progress. It no longer works adequately to feed, clothe and house the masses; it is even working destruction to former beneficiaries of the system itself. The Political State—the administrative committee of the capitalist class—has broken down in its various functions.

Corruption has grown so tremendous as to be indescribable; crime, unpunished and arrogant, stalks through the land. Destruction faces the nation. Already there are hints that the only salvation for capitalism is a dictator, fas-

cism, or as the Socialist Labor Party accurately has pointed out for years, Industrial Feudalism, under which the worker would be no more than a slave-serf, a robot to the machine.

In view of all these facts, which unerringly point to a critical, a revolutionary, period in the nation's existence, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled in May 1932, feels impelled again, and more emphatically than ever, to raise its voice of warning to the working class of America to prepare with the greatest possible speed for the huge revolutionary task assigned to the industrial proletariat of this nation, by organizing its immense numbers in such a manner as to prepare the workers for the impending task of the abolition of capitalism and the instituting in its place of the Socialist Republic of Labor.

The Socialist Labor Party, therefore, calls upon the workers to rally around its banner and cast a class-conscious vote to capture the political robberburg of capitalism for the purpose alone of dismantling it, and at the same time calls upon the workers to organize in Revolutionary Industrial Unions prepared to take, hold and operate industry and form a basis for the future government of the Socialist Industrial Republic. Only where the working class, by means of efficient industrial and political organization and action, is enabled to take hold of the instruments of production and to carry on, can social chaos be avoided.

G.

Resolution on Corruption and Decay of the Capitalist Political State.

It has long been evident to the scientific Socialist, and repeatedly stated in various connections, that the Political State is headed toward its conclusion and downfall. The Political State came into being along with class society and has served throughout as the executive committee of the ruling class, one of its most important functions being to keep the lower layers of society, the producing slave class, in submission.

It matters not what form the Political State has assumed, imperialistic or democratic, its functions have been essentially the same, varying only in its tactics during different social systems, from Ancient Greece to the present time. As each social system has gone into decay, however, the particular form of the State has gone into decay with it, and this decay has been heralded by manifest political corruption. Never at any decadent period in history has this corruption been more glaring, more openly flaunted, than in our own time, in our own country.

Powerful corporations keep lobbying committees near the legislative halls, and these committees are avowedly nothing else but purchasing, manipulating or intimidating bodies. Politicians of high and low degree are for sale or ready to barter favors for gains in money or prestige. Corruption has even crept into the official families of Presidents without causing perceptible

shock to those who are supposed the guardians of the honor of the nation.

From the Capitol at Washington corruption and dry rot descend downward through the states to the municipalities. Politicians move their fingers at elementary common decency. Favors are sold, graft collected, local treasuries raided, to the extent that while politicians grow rich, with bank accounts and property ownership far beyond the possibilities of their salaries, municipalities, large and small, from coast to coast, are totally bankrupt, unable to pay the workers in the civil service. Yea, the government at Washington itself is pleading bankruptcy, while its budget is mounting higher and the government is becoming entrenched in bureaucratic power.

While politicians are thus supporting themselves, crime is stalking through the land. Criminals flaunt their defiance of organized society in broad day. They are, in fact, only imitating the powers that be and make no secret of the fact that they consider themselves as well entitled to a part of the spoils as are the politicians. In truth, the dividing line is getting less and less detectable between the upper crooks and the underworld, and between either and the politicians and the minions of the law. Crime flourishes under legal protection as long as the criminal is able to pay.

Under these circumstances, it is evident that the Political State has fallen into total decay. It is even proving itself incapable any longer of exercising its last remaining function, that of keeping order until a new social order is ready to

step on the scene. It is collapsing rapidly along with capitalism itself.

In view of these facts, and because the last function of class society has been fulfilled, namely, so to increase and organize the means of production that plenty can now be had by all without resort to slave labor and drudgery for the many, the Social Labor Party, in convention assembled in May 1932, calls upon the wage workers of America to organize themselves politically and industrially as a class to capture and overthrow the Political State, putting an end to all graft, corruption and crime, and instituting in its place the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor, where the industrial vote will replace the political vote and the government will be organized on industrial instead of outworn and obsolete political demarcations.

H.

Resolution on the International Situation.

The capitalist system is crumbling. Indications of this fact are so abundant and so glaring that they cannot escape even the most dull-witted observer. The crumbling process started with the World War; 1914 marks an epoch in world history. Up to that time capitalism had been moving normally—jerkily and more than once on the brink of precipices, it is true, but so far the danger signals were noticeable only to a few specialists stationed on the social-economic watch-towers.

At the dawn of the capitalist system England was the workshop of the world and the mistress of the sea; Britannia ruled the waves and England's manufactured goods found their way to the remotest corners of the world. Toward the close of the eighteenth century England's American colonies had developed grit enough to desire to control the trade of such products as they produced, and by 1812 the young republic was already strong enough to throw down the challenge to the mistress of the sea. From about 1830 onward, and with gigantic strides after the Civil War, American capitalism developed into a formidable, even a conquering, rival of the mother country.

With the Revolution of 1789 France definitely joined the international capitalist circle. In textiles particularly she became a formidable rival of Great Britain, and this continental rivalry was augmented by both Belgium and Holland. By the middle of the nineteenth century Italy showed definite signs of capitalist technique. There remained in Western Europe only Germany, lagging behind because of internecine strife between her multiple principalities. But Prussia was already showing her teeth, Bismarck's imperial organizing genius was bringing principality after principality under her sway, and the victory over France in 1871 crowned the Kaiser and united Germany into the Empire. From that moment her capitalist development was rapid, formidable, ever more dangerous to her rivals.

The nineties and early 1900's were the decades of capitalist imperialism. England had established her

power in Canada and Australia and had long dug her claws into India. The United States had promulgated the "Monroe Doctrine" which made Europe pause at further attempts at colonizing the Americas, and made the Southern Republics the "legitimate" stamping ground for American commerce. France, Belgium, Italy dashed into Africa whose untouched resources furnished valuable raw materials and the missionary forerunners of the capitalist flags gradually "converted" primitive people into wearers of pants, hats and shoes, not to mention consumers of whiskey and tobacco. Then all and sundry capitalist nations started to hammer at the door of the Orient. Japanese seclusion was broken down, and all, including Japan, were pounding on the Great Wall of China. Rift after rift was made, "spheres of influence," commercial outposts, were established in the ancient celestial empire.

By this time Germany was in full swing as a commercial rival. She arrived rather late to partake in the major partition of the world, so her commercial imperialism developed a new technic. Quietly and unobtrusively commercial experts, good linguists, were sent all over the world, the Americas, Africa, Asia, even far-off Australia. These agents established themselves among the natives, married and settled down among them and became formidable outposts for German trade and commerce.

Only Western Asia had somewhat held out against the united imperialist cultures. The Turk had proved an ugly customer and even repeated hysteria over "Armenian atrocities" hadn't been sufficient to call forth

the force to dislodge him. And who was more, at the gateway to Asia stood Russia, monstrous and threatening in her semi-Asiatic barbarism and backward in her own capitalist development, nevertheless a formidable rival against extension of spheres of influence into territories she considered her own legitimate prey.

In spite of this, however, by the close of the first decade in the 1900's English diplomacy was cunningly working its way into the oil fields of the old Mesopotamia, and German commercial genius had secured a right of way for a railway from Berlin to Bagdad. In the meantime events had taken place in the Orient. Japan had sprung, with the agility of an acrobat, from the simple handicraft state of the middle ages to a formidable capitalist commercial rival, and the Chinese Revolution had announced to the world that even the "Celestials" were abandoning ancient ways and were preparing to come out as moderns. Horror could not fail to seize the capitalist heart. If 400,000,000 Chinamen with their ability to live cheaply should start to produce capitalistically for the markets of the world, what would happen? Capitalist commerce, it had long been evident, included the export of machinery to the spheres of influence, and that the Oriental was an apt pupil Japan had already sufficiently demonstrated.

Thus matters stood in 1914. International commercial rivalry had reached threatening proportions. Japan was pushing; Russia was coming on; the United States of America was setting a formidable pace; Germany was edging in ev-

erywhere and was in addition determined to have a "place in the sun" at the harbor on the great sea. England and France were crowded hard and harder; Italy was ready to show the teeth, waiting only for an opportune moment. It came with the murder of an obscure Austrian archduke. Armageddon broke out. Nearly every civilized or half-civilized nation eventually was drawn in, for as each had interests to guard or promote, every nation was anxious not to miss the chance of sitting in on the final division of the spoils. The Austrian archduke was instantly forgotten, "patriotism" was rushed to a fury in all camps, beautiful slogans were coined, but as Mr. Wilson, American war President, said the coiner of more lovely slogans than any one else, frankly put at the finish, "every one knows that this was an industrial and commercial war."

But the war was a failure from every angle. True, Germany was crushed and so were her allies with the possible exception of "the uncrushable Turk." But destruction destroyed so effectively the consumptive power of Europe itself that no amount of post-war reconstruction could make up for the fallen market. And worst of all, no new markets were opened by the cannons. Africa gives no sign of awakening, India emerged in a state of rebellion that Great Britain dares not even attempt to stamp out by force; China fell into a state of anarchy and dissension under which capital investments are utterly unsafe and she is less of a market than ever; Japan became a formidable and

pushing commercial rival; Central and South America remain volcanic and none too trustworthy customers. The United States alone rose like the fabled phoenix from the ashes, her golden dollars had a stranglehold on the world, her industries were going everywhere and her commerce pushed forward as much as the situation of the world allowed. But its allowance was meager.

If the war was a disappointment, the peace was worse. The Allies were too many and they were all still too powerful for a single one to reap a true advantage. They were like a pack of wolves over a prey ready to spring at each other's throats. True, Germany was crushed, but it soon became apparent that the very thoroughness with which her rivals were crushing Germany resulted in their own undoing. German indemnities could not be paid except by the products of German manufacture, and German manufactures could flood France, England and America only to become emery dust in the wheels of their respective home manufactures. Great Britain was the first to feel the effect; millions upon millions of idle workers have been supported on a government dole ever since the Armistice. Ruin stares the nation in the face.

The only great new "development" which resulted from the war was Russia. Here indeed a tremendous new market was opened up, but a market which the capitalist imperialists are too frightened to supply to their full ability because the development of Russia points with stern logic to the downfall of the capitalist system itself. The

Russian Revolution — the October feature thereof—is the one and only great credit mark on humanity's side on the ledger of the World War.

For sixteen years the capitalist world has struggled with the problems of reconstruction, to get "back to normalcy," but to no avail. The close student of current historical events has had no trouble to record that the rifts in the system have grown wider and wider. Each country tried to mend its fences with tariff walls against the manufactures of others, with the only result that their own exports stopped.

Then came the financial crash of 1929, followed by an instant industrial crisis and an unemployment situation throughout the entire world—except Russia—which is utterly staggering and appalling. Humanity is rotting throughout the length and breadth of the world, and what is more, the perfection of the machines—tremendously advanced since the war—points to the unmistakable fact that as long as capitalism lasts the greatest mass of these millions will not or cannot ever secure a job again.

In the meantime the capitalist system continued cracking. Germany—and her allies—broke under the reparation load. With a sigh of relief—at being freed from German goods—the United States headed the movement for a moratorium. But the rest of Europe was on the breaking point as well. Great Britain went off the gold standard and a number of smaller countries followed suit. France, Italy and the Scandinavian countries holding up their heads the longest, are now also showing signs of tremendous unemployment and financial and indus-

trial crisis. A plug in one place only opens a break in another. The whole system is rotten.

In the United States the collapse of capitalism is showing itself unmistakably and decidedly every day. The crisis hit us with the fury of a hurricane—twelve million unemployed, and at least twelve million more suffering on part-time, thirty to forty million people in actual need of their daily necessities. Corruption and crime multiplying, and our would-be statesmen at their wits' end trying to patch a system too tattered and torn to stand further patching.

Having studied these events and being fully aware of their import, namely, that the Social Revolution which demands a change from capitalism to Socialism is knocking on the portals of history, the Socialist Labor Party, in convention assembled in May 1932, declares it as its purpose to strain every effort to educate and organize the wage-working class of America politically and industrially so as to enable this class to overthrow capitalism and then do away with the private ownership in the means of production and the land, and to substitute therefor the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor, where international community of interest on the basis of planned orderly production will guarantee peace and harmony among all the peoples on earth.

I.

Resolution on Future Wars.

The myths of "national honor," "defense of the Fatherland," "War for Democracy," "War to End

War" have all been repeatedly and thoroughly exploded. The wars of capitalism, without a single exception, have been wars to establish markets to extend "zones of influence," to open up roads to important raw materials, to grab territory for any one of the above, for capitalism's selfish purposes. Even Woodrow Wilson himself, after he was through shouting slogans for the war propaganda, did not hesitate to declare openly that every one knew that the 1914-1918 war was an industrial and commercial war. It is for the sake of raw materials, markets that the workers have fought and bled; it is in the service of the Krupps, the Deterdings, the Du Ponts, the Morgans, the Rockefellers. In short, in the interest of the great international capitalist plunderers that they have fought, bled and died.

Stung by "patriotism" and the propaganda of the war stuff, the workers of each nation have been marched out to kill the workers of another nation, shouting raucous slogans put in their mouths by those who sit snugly at home and profit by the ignorance and simply credulity of the masses.

The great World War, being the logical result of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system and of conflicting capitalist interests, and partly a desperate attempt by the parasites of a social system at the brink of collapse to save their rotten system, may be put down as a complete failure from the point of view of the system itself. Unquestionably millions were harvested by the plunderbund; new millionaires were made by war profiteering. But the destiny of a system

cannot be gauged by momentary results. The point is that new markets did not materialize, and even old markets and home markets have as a final result collapsed and completely deteriorated. China has been thrown into a state of anarchy, India is in the throes of rebellion, South America and Africa and Australia are in varied stages of stagnation. As a result of all this every capitalist nation is rife with unemployment and seething with discontent.

There is but one bright spot in the entire international situation — Soviet Russia. That nation is resounding with vigorous and enthusiastic work with the view of reconstruction on the ruins of a collapsed social order, a new society—a Workers' Socialist Republic. But Soviet Russia contains no promise for capitalism, but, on the contrary, a positive threat. Every successful step in Soviet reconstruction is a nail in the coffin of capitalism. Rage, blind and unreasoning, seizes the capitalist beast at the very mention of the progress of Soviet Russia. When the capitalist beast sees red, war lurks around the corner.

There is one cause of capitalist wars that we have so far not mentioned—the fear of Revolution, the threat to an outworn system by a new system aborning in the womb of the old. Marx said that the most important thing that capitalism had produced was "its own grave diggers," the industrial proletariat capable of abolishing capitalism and instituting the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth. Capitalism shudders at the very sight of these "grave diggers." As a consequence the capitalist beast is not averse at times to "a bit of bloodletting among the

lower orders." Dying social systems never were.

There are those, accordingly, and facts do not contradict them, who attribute the World War to the "necessity" of the killing off of a portion of the already superfluous — made so by the machines—members of the working class. Socialism constituted ever a threat to the capitalist order, even the prevailing pre-war reformistic brand. The "bloodletting" was terrific; but so were also—with stern capitalist logic — the strides which the machines made during the war, which is attested by the fact that now, only fourteen years after its close, the army of unemployed is infinitely larger and more saturated with discontent and revolutionary thinking than ever before in all the history of capitalism.

That the capitalist class and its military arm are preparing to quell any sign of uprising from the working class is sufficiently illustrated by instructions which recently came to light, issued to the 33rd division of the Illinois National Guard entitled "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances." In these instructions the militia is carefully directed how to deal with "mobs" in the street, the use of riot guns, the manner of mobilization against workers, how to attack them from hiding places and how to drop bombs from roofs and from the sky, and how to pick off the leaders from sheltered places. The militia is cautioned never to temporize with the "mob," to be utterly unmerciful in the performance of its duty of "quelling riots in their incipient stages."

Are the capitalists preparing for

a new bloodletting in a last furious attempt at saving themselves by the destruction of Soviet Russia and the murdering of million masses of workers? Many fingers point in that direction and quite possibly it is nothing but fear of the consequences—a general uprising of the workers, a world social revolution—that is holding in the reins of the beast today.

Japan, more aggressive than the rest, more daring than the rest because she is far removed from the real revolutionary field of working class action, has not hesitated to let loose the dogs of war. Will she succeed in her aggression on Soviet Russia; will she eventually embroil the rest of the capitalist world? The future is a tremendous question mark and the working class alone holds the answer.

What will a future war imply? To it the last one will be but child's play. Trench warfare with cannons and explosives reached a deadlock in the closing months of the last war. The future war will be conducted from the air. Poison gases will be the "ammunition." The chemical industries of every capitalist nation today are so organized that in twenty-four hours they can be turned into war producing machines. Poison gases have been developed and tremendously improved in the last few years, gases that burn through the skin and eat the living flesh of the individual. Every nation possesses its secret gases and each believes that it has been able to develop the most powerful gas in the world. These gases can be released from the sky and bombs carried by planes will destroy entire cities, creeping into and penetrating

even the sub-cellars. The next war will be a war of non-combatants, the horror of which beggars all description. The next war threatens the destruction of civilization and of mankind itself.

In view of these facts the Socialist Labor Party, in convention assembled in May 1932, calls to the working class to take instant heed and arouse itself from its lethargy. The workers alone can save civilization and humanity. This is not a time for silly masquerading by parades and fruitless demonstrations. This is the hour for serious and well-planned action. The talk of "physical force against physical force" is ridiculous; the workers are not even permitted to carry a gun, much less to train or drill. The days of the barricades are past, a poison bomb from the sky would put an instant finish to any silly stage strutting behind piles of brick and rubbish. The workers' only might, power and force lie in the industries, in the productive machine which they alone can set in motion and which they control. Without food, clothing, housing, transportation, communication, instruments and ammunition, any army is useless.

Even in the last war, it took, according to Lord Kitchener, seven men in industry to keep one in the trenches. Modern wars are "industrial" in more respects than one. It is in industry, therefore, that war is "manufactured"; it is through industry alone that it can be stopped and forever ended—through the industrial classconscious Socialist Industrial Union in shop, mill, mine, factory, on the land and on the railroad.

Workers, organize the Socialist Industrial Union to take, hold and operate industry. That is the only "peace resolution" that has teeth in it.

All power to the Revolutionary Industrial Union!

J.

Resolution on the Mooney Case.

As the Bastille came to stand as the symbol of the tyranny and oppression of feudalism in its era of decay, so San Quentin may well be made to express the tyranny and oppression of capitalism in its senile stage. For sixteen years San Quentin as held immured Thomas Mooney, labor organizer, because of one of the foulest frame-ups ever executed by threatened and desperate class power. The recent denial of a pardon by Governor Rolph—the fourth California governor to make such a denial—savage, insulting and totally subservient to ruling class interests, constitutes a reaffirmation that the California reaction is fully prepared to hold Mooney so immured despite the fact that the entire infernal frame-up has been exposed over and over again from every angle.

The reasons for the savagery with which the beastly California reaction has pursued Mooney and held on to its victim, in the face of world exposure and the condemnation of all decent men, have their origin in the very savagery of the system itself, the savagery with which it pursues the working class, exploiting it to the limit while at work and ruthlessly throwing the workers on the

streets to starve when there is no profit in keeping them at work.

Private ownership in the means of life makes beasts of men. Class privileges, which make slaves and underlings of fellow humans, harden the privileged class against all human feelings for their fellows. The workers are held as no more than dirt under the feet of the capitalists.

In San Francisco, in 1916, Tom Mooney organized the street car workers so that they were ready to give battle to the street car corporation in an attempt to secure some small improvements in their intolerable slave conditions. Mooney held the workers together, and the capitalists came to believe that without Mooney the strike would collapse. But Mooney and the workers held on with tenacity. Then came the Preparedness Day parade, with that foul outrage, the bomb explosion. The perpetrators of that crime have never been found, rather they were never pursued. Some savage class mind conceived the idea of riding San Francisco of Mooney by fastening the crime on him, and this resulted in the vicious frame-up among capitalist politicians and legal hirelings. The rest is now history.

For sixteen years Mooney has been victimized. Every phase of the frame-up and the trial, with its perjured witnesses, has been exposed. Reason proclaims Mooney's innocence; pleas, requests, "demands" for his release have gone to courts and governors, but the joint reaction holds fast to the victim. No power has so far arisen strong enough to back justice by might. The Mooney case, accordingly, re-

flects with peculiar force the anarchy, vacillation, the sentimentality in short, the capitalist-mindedness and lack of classconsciousness and organized power of the American working class.

Tom Mooney, a member and organizer of the American Federation of Labor, was from the beginning thrown down completely by its nest of labor leaders. Mooney, the "radical," had kicked over the labor leader traces, had gone directly to the rank and file and was inspiring it with militancy, at least in its daily struggle. The leaders, cowardly, avaricious, capitalist-minded, could not afford to allow any independent or "rebellious" action of the rank and file in its dealings with capital. That had come to be the usurped privilege of the labor fakers alone. Thus Mooney had become as much a thorn in the side of the A. F. of L. leaders as he was in the side of capital. His incarceration was undoubtedly "good riddance" in that quarter, and the "coolness" with which the A. F. of L. has throughout treated the Mooney case is in no small measure responsible for the scorn with which politicians have treated the pleaders. The rank and file has, as a whole, taken its cue from the leaders and it is only in isolated cases that a voice from a union has joined the chorus of demand for Mooney's release.

The Socialist party, always the sycophant of the A. F. of L., has held itself pretty much aloof until recently when the widespread publicity of the case started to give promise that it might be good vote catching material. Moreover, should Mooney be freed, the S. P., to which he adhered on his incarceration,

would naturally not want to forego the possibility of capturing a new martyr for publicity purposes. The question arises: Is it possible that Mooney, after sixteen years in prison, can still harbor illusions in regard to Socialist party reformism?

The Anarcho-Communists have tried over and over again to claim Mooney and use him as they use all the rest to coin money. Mooney has repeatedly repelled them and shown that he is pretty well on to where and how their "sympathy" arises. There is no indication that Mooney harbors any illusions as to the Anarcho-Communists. He probably harbors few illusions of any kind. Prison walls have a way of crushing illusions.

Of late another repulsive feature of social decadence has shown itself in connection with the case. Certain self-seeking politicians, ever on the lookout for publicity, have thrown themselves into it in a manner that plainly indicates exhibitionism and desire for publicity instead of sincere conviction on the side of the victim. Nothing whatever has come out of such false sympathy. Politicians understand each other and play their game on the stage for public entertainment while they manipulate their wires in private.

The Mooney case drags on. Yet, without any organized power behind it, the Mooney defense committee has done marvels in building up public sentiment in the case, in exposing the villainy of the frame-up, the utter miscarriage of justice in the conviction. But "public sentiment" avails nothing unless it has punch and power behind it. The working class alone, organized as a

class, can free Mooney and all the class war prisoners and put an end to the system that is itself one perpetual crime against the working class.

In view of these facts, the Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled in New York City, in May 1932, reasserting and declaring its firm belief in the innocence of Thomas Mooney of the crime for which he is committed, and unqualifiedly condemning the perpetrators of the frame-up as well as all who in any way seek to take advantage of the case for selfish reasons, calls upon the workers of America to organize into classconscious Socialist Industrial Unions, which alone will possess the power to back up with the industrial might of shop and factory, mill, mine and railroad, the righteous demand of the Socialist Labor Party to put a summary end to the capitalist system with all its injustice and misery. The key that will open the prison doors of Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings is the key that will release the working class from wage slavery. That key is the power of the integral Industrial Union. The show of such power alone, backing the sentiment of right and justice, is capable of throwing open the portals and making crumble the walls of the modern Bastille of tyranny.

K.

Resolution on the Saralieff Case.

The National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 West 23rd Street, New York City, on Monday,

May 2, adopted the following resolution on the denial of citizenship papers to Comrade S. S. Saralieff by Federal Judge Davis of the St. Louis Circuit Court:

Capitalism, in its headlong dive to doom, has busied itself in destroying many of the myths which have bulwarked it; among these mythical bulwarks is its special pet "*Equality before the law*."

True to its destiny, capitalism has undermined even this invaluable prop to a system inevitably plunging to extinction.

Looking back to this age, the historians of the future will find material for many volumes, when they chronicle the rapid progress of what will appear to them a sort of phrenitis.

The Socialist Labor Party, born of sociological facts, came into being many years ago. Adhering to the Constitution and laws of the land, its membership, its literature, its political propaganda, and its press, have had a most powerful influence in the direction of civilized discussion of social problems.

Among many other rules of conduct for its membership is the one urging its foreign-born members to qualify themselves for citizenship. Our foreign-born membership, with their Party press; with their literature, and with their political propaganda, have consistently followed this rule of conduct.

The editor of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation Party newspaper—Comrade S. S. Saralieff—most consistently qualified himself for the important privilege of American citizenship. He, then, following the legal procedure marked out, applied to the United States

District Court in St. Louis, Missouri, to grant him naturalization papers, according to the Constitution and the laws passed in consonance therewith.

Comrade Saralieff's application was rejected by that court, Federal Judge Davis presiding. And for what reason? Merely because Comrade Saralieff's answers to certain questions indicated that he, better than the average native-born citizen, understood most fully the design of the drafters of the Constitution of the United States when they wrote Article V of that document.

That which distinguishes the Constitution of these United States from every other is the fact that it makes provision for its own amendment, a provision which carries with it the recognition by the founders of the possibility of its becoming outmoded in the process of historical development.

By no process of logic can an unprejudiced mind come to any conclusion other than that Judge Davis, admitting in his own published decision the right to amend the Constitution, gagged when it came to swallowing the implication naturally following—that the right to amend carries with it the right entirely to abrogate—a fact so pregnant that at the period of its adoption it was widely commented on and finally accepted by the American people after mature deliberation.

Should this decision be allowed to stand, every American citizen, be he a member of the Socialist Labor Party or not, stands in danger of losing that which has hitherto been considered a most sacred right.

In view of the tremendous issues

involved, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, at New York, in May 1932, calls upon the American working class, and all other citizens, to join with this Party, founded in line with the Constitution of the United States, to use every civilized method to force a reversal of this most unjust decision—unjust even according to capitalist ethics.

L.

(See report of Editor of the *Weekly People*, page 124.)

Exhibit Three.

THE KIWANIS HEARS THE WORD.

To the Weekly People—"Uneasy rests the head that wears the crown," especially if that crown is slipping. The petty bourgeois, crowded ever harder by the encroachments of industrial capitalism, are frantic in their search for a way out of the present dilemma.

As a result, and probably because they are frantic, they give ear to the revolutionary message of the working class as expressed by the S. L. P. On January 15, Verne L. Reynolds addressed the Kiwanis Club of Chatham, N. J. In most prophetic terms he outlined the processes that will destroy capitalism and how world readjustment will be achieved through an industrially organized working class.

Comparing the social body to a natural organism, he demonstrated how a social system was born, learned to walk, reached the full stage of maturity, grew old and decrepit and finally expired, but not before it had cast off the seed

which hatched the system to succeed it. "Capitalism has organized and drilled the working class into human machines for production. Reynolds wound up by denying that 'Socialism will destroy the petty bourgeoisie. 'Wall Street will do that for us, and the quicker, the better.'"

Several questions were asked, principally for information. It developed that some were genuine wage slaves. These included the superintendent of schools (who asked an intelligent question), the district gas manager, and others.

An ex-mayor and chief of police were present. The ex-mayor thanked "God for the country and this 'capitalistic' system, for it made it possible for me, a poor boy, making ten dollars a month, to arrive where I am today." Audible sniggers. "I don't want to have to divide up with my neighbor. Why should I?"

"As producers of wealth, as the working class, we too say we do not want a system where we have to divide up," replied Reynolds. "We are weary of dividing up. We want the full product of our toil."

The chief of police thought the S. L. P. had "the right idea" but he feared that such a system would give men too much leisure and "they'd think up some devilry and probably land in the chair."

Others expressed themselves as favorable to the system Reynolds outlined. Such remarks as these were passed in the hallway: "He's got the right idea," "It sounds good, but you gotta change human nature," "Anyway he gave us the real dope on this depression."

The fact that we had two sym-

pathizers through whose efforts the meeting was held made our trip to Chatham worth while. As for the bulk of those present—Well, I prefer to enlist comrades from my class. The cockroach is torn between his desire to squeeze labor and his fear that he will join labor. When he joins us it will not be difficult for us to convince him of his class interests.

Reynolds put more material across in twenty-five minutes than I thought possible.

Eric N. Hass.

Newark, N.J., Jan. 20.

M.

Letter of Acceptance of Verne L. Reynolds

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for President of the United States*

Comrades of the
Socialist Labor Party:

Through your delegates assembled at the 18th National Convention of our Party, you have chosen me as your candidate for President of the nation. In accepting your nomination I am aware of the responsibility you have asked me to assume, for the coming one will be no ordinary campaign.

In preceding campaigns, all other political parties, including those falsely claiming to represent labor, have promised to do something for our class. Faithful to the interest of the capitalists they serve, each and all of them have held before us a receding ghost-light, a will-o'-the-

wisp, a pledge that if we would but once again follow their leaders, they would obtain "better conditions" for us, not in the "distant future," but now, *under capitalism*. In each election heretofore most of the workers have followed this will-o'-the-wisp of reform, have *hoped* for present betterment, have preferred to trust in and cast their vote for both cheats and fools rather than build and support a strictly working class movement of their own as our candidates have urged.

We have shown them why these shallow promises could never materialize; that the lot of both intellectual and manual workers must grow worse in the same ratio as capitalism "progressed" toward its final stage of utter collapse of the whole system; that capitalism could not be reformed, but could be and must be abolished. We have shown why the time was near when, if the workers would continue to live as civilized beings, capitalism **MUST** be abolished.

That time, for which our Party so long has been preparing the workers, is now here. Our predictions, based only upon careful scientific analysis of the workings of capitalism, have been verified by history itself. Economically, the capitalist system *has* broken down—the collapse of its social structure is within measurable distance. Government itself is losing the ability to enforce its own laws, collect its taxes.

A certain prestige will accompany our speakers during the present campaign, entitling us to still greater respect than ever. History having proved our diagnosis correct, we should be heeded as never before

when we speak of the cure. For the above reason I shall stress as never before the program of the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist reconstruction of society.

But the causes of the collapse of capitalism may not be ignored; for it is these, still at work, which will prevent capitalism's staging a comeback. Under the names of "Socialist," "Communist," "Farmer-Labor," "Liberty" and what not, the same old will-o'-the-wisp will be brilliantly flashed before us through the identical swamps that have mired us in the past and in which we are now bogged. Reform planks, which have already proved to be rotten timber, will again be laid, with new labels, in platforms erected upon the same rotten, punkwood underpinning as every former reform platform. Until the workers are totally disillusioned of all hope for revival of capitalism—all desire that it should be revived—they will continue to follow the ghost-light of reforms into still deeper mire. Reforms, promised by all other political parties, are never fulfilled—because it is impossible to fulfill them. The two old, frankly capitalist parties, Republican and Democratic, will nail the same identical planks in their platforms as the above named parties who prattle in the name of labor. A knowledge of the causes of the collapse will alone save the workers from the above lures.

Were it not for the clear beacon-light of the Socialist Labor Party of America, the outlook for the working class would indeed be dark. Let us but contrast the position and program of this, our own, the Working Class Party, with the aforementioned reform and capitalist parties, and

the future is one only of brightness approaching gloriousness.

All social wealth is created by labor. All wealth therefore belongs, by right, to labor. We propose that labor get it—all of it. Much of the wealth we have created exists today as equipment with which to create more wealth—factories, mills, mines, railroads, improved land; due to our own consent, expressed at the ballot box or by remaining away from it, this wealth of productive equipment is owned by a few capitalists; by their orders we workers have painted and posted signs saying "Keep Out" for ourselves to obey. We propose that labor cease to consent to such ownership, abolish it, then tear down such signs and walk back into the plants we have built and run them for our own benefit instead of for that of a few capitalists. Instead of plans to limit production to purchasing power, we propose to abolish "purchase and sale" and produce for use alone, produce in great plenty for all, and use all we produce. Instead of an ever growing "reserve army of workers," the unemployed, standing outside the gate and bidding down the wages of the workers inside and at the same time compelling them to race themselves to death to hold a "job," we propose a system whereby all the work of production, distribution, education—in short, all the work—be divided equitably among all the people, including the present idle capitalists.

We propose that the form of government, whose chief purpose is to protect private property—which now means only to protect the few capitalists against the vast majority of the American people, the working

class — be fundamentally altered; that instead of electing representatives from geographical districts to make laws against people, and sanctioning and protecting property ownership in the very means of our existence, we erect a governmental structure whose principal function shall be to plan production to fit every need of the people; that the representatives be chosen from among the useful workers within the productive and distributive industries, and the institutions of public health, education, entertainment, and so forth. We propose a government wherein each must be a useful worker to be a citizen and a voter; wherein, because no individual owns property in the means wherewith others work, all will have personal property and plenty of it who will do their share of the work to produce it — all have leisure in which to enjoy it; and all have time and opportunity for cultural pursuits.

Comrades, the burden of my message during this campaign will be that the workers in all useful walks of life organize, organize into the Socialist Labor Party to make right the overthrow of capitalism, together with its governmental structure, and erect a democracy of the working class based on industry. I shall urge that they organize into Socialist Industrial Unions whose watchword will be "The Abolition of the Wage System"; that these, to be "Industrial" in form, must be patterned exactly after the manner in which the workers are grouped in the human, social organism that carries on production today; that these unions weld themselves into one united body for the whole nation, for the ex-

press and openly-stated purpose of furnishing the necessary MIGHT to back up the rights of the majority of the people when their revolutionary mandate shall be expressed; and that once this is done the Socialist Industrial Union itself assume all the functions of government.

The times call loudly for revolutionary change. When the working class knows what to do and how to do it—then, and not until then, will it know how to ACT. If we now run industry for capitalists, the day we combine in the same form of organization we can run it for ourselves. By uniting national Industrial Unions into one administrative body, we can take, hold and operate the entire workshop now known as the United States of America on the very day the working class, the majority of the people, so decides. The present breakdown of capitalism says louder than words: We must!

All Power to the Socialist Industrial Unions!

Fraternally yours,
VERNE L. REYNOLDS.

New York, N.Y.,
May 10, 1932.

N.

Letter of Acceptance of John W. Aiken

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for Vice President of the
United States.*

Comrades of the
Socialist Labor Party:

In accepting the nomination for the Vice Presidency of the United

States, an honor conferred on me by the 18th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, I am cognizant of the duties and responsibilities placed on me. These I accept joyfully and pledge myself to the conscientious performance of the tasks implied in my nomination, namely, carrying on the work of educating and organizing the American working class for the conquest of power and the inauguration of a social system of equality, the possibilities for which are now present for the first time in the history of man. Only in accordance with the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party can the working class, destined by the logic of history to abolish all class rule, hope to work out its emancipation in America.

On every hand we see evidence of the crumbling of a social order which only a few years ago was hailed as being invulnerable. Consider for a moment a bit of recent political and economic history. When in 1928 Mr. Hoover was visited and offered the nomination, and accepted, he said:

"We in America today are nearer the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. The job of every man has been made secure. Unemployment has been widely disappearing. We shall soon be, with the help of God, in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from our nation."

Nor was he alone in praise of what he was pleased to call the "rugged individualism" of the American people. Economists, politicians, business leaders, all were agreed that America was destined to scale heights of industrial achievement never dreamed of before.

All these prognostications have proved false. Industry is prostrate; bankruptcy follows bankruptcy; credit, the boasted *modus vivendi* of universal well-being and expanding trade, has now become nearly nonexistent; mass production, supposed to be the very yardstick of progress, has been transformed into its scourge. A constantly increasing capacity to produce has come in conflict with a constantly contracting world market. Machinery, the development of which was hailed as a boon to mankind, has turned into an impediment. Poverty in the midst of plenty remains the crowning beatitude of capitalist society. Thus the factors making for capitalism, unquestionably enabling man to attain a higher degree of mastery over natural forces, have now become fetters hampering further growth within the framework of the present order.

It need occasion no surprise that capitalism should topple over at the moment of its greatest triumphs. Such has ever been the law of progress of the past. Social systems endured only so long as they could contribute to further advancement, failing in which they were superseded by higher forms.

The ancient slave system of the Graeco-Roman world disintegrated when it no longer could maintain the conditions of its previous existence. Fatedly compelled to create an ever increasing surfeit of slaves, it was soon found impossible to provide for them under the prevailing conditions. From the ruins of the collapse of that system finally emerged feudalism, which for a time opened up new possibilities through peasant proprietorship. The production of

articles for use, however, though it did result in great wealth for the ruling classes, could add no fresh impulse to the expansion of the productive forces. Geographical discoveries brought into existence new demands, new needs which peasant and handicraft production with its local and guild exclusiveness could not supply. In stepped free competition and a whole philosophy of "natural rights." Profit became the sole reason for existence, and to be attained only over the prostrate bodies of handicraft producers and through the subjection of the propertiless workers to a ruthless exploitation intensified by the introduction of the subdivision of labor.

But the social production of commodities thus established is in contradiction with the private appropriation of the products, with the result that periodically industry slows down, workers are thrown out of employment to starve or be dependent upon charitable agencies, while the markets are glutted with commodities of all descriptions.

Since we have had many of these crises in the past and capitalism has recovered, many have concluded that we will get through this one, a conclusion which by no means follows. No longer are there new and undeveloped markets now available in which to dispose of the surplus commodities, no longer safe places for the investment of capital on a profitable basis, no longer a financial structure of sufficient stability to withstand this severe crisis.

Our task is, therefore, to point out to the working class the factors contributing to the breakdown of capitalism and the necessity — through political and economic organization

— of sweeping away the wreckage that clutters up the path of progress. Poverty and misery, far from being triumphed over, are, and must continue to be, more prevalent and widespread than at any time in history. The class directly interested, the class which economic evolution has raised to the position where it can by intelligent action banish for all time the evils of modern civilization, the modern wage working class, must perform the act, and depend on itself alone.

Force, might, found necessary by revolutionary movements of the past for the consummation of their aims, becomes today the prime requisite for the success of the working class revolution. Historical development, however, has created new patterns and altered the character of the force required. This is not a question of choice, but of necessity. An examination of the terrain here in America indicates that the force of the revolutionary workers, needed to back up the inherent weakness of political action, is best exemplified by organization where the power of the workers lies, that is, in the factories, mills, mines, shops, railroads. Organized into unions based on the output of the several industries and infused with the revolutionary purpose of taking and holding industry, such Socialist Industrial Unions would be in a position to dominate the situation and prevent reactionary movements from realizing their purposes.

Political action, by means of the campaigns, elections, etc., incident to it, presents unequalled opportunities for the welding together of this revolutionary economic force, without which a political victory would

be a defeat. To repudiate political action and the possibility of a peaceful solution of the social problem is at the same time the way for the working class to destroy its chances of victory, for the force needed, the industrially organized workers, must be given the opportunity to prepare, organize and discipline itself for the day when it must assume the administration of the productive forces of the nation, prevent chaos, and thus render unnecessary henceforth the need of a State, "proletarian" or otherwise.

Capitalism can offer nothing but unemployment and poverty for the working class, and a political party, whether called Socialist, Communist, Republican or Democrat, which promises an alleviation of conditions through the enactment of reform legislation, holds out hopes that can never be realized, and, what is more important, clouds the only true issue confronting the workers. Only the Socialist Labor Party offers the solution, and that is the unconditional surrender of capitalism.

Fortunately for the interests of the working class the currents of the time are sweeping our way. The institutions of capitalism, now rapidly on the decline, need only be pushed aside by the organized workers and a form of society established where the free condition of each is the condition of the free development of all."

Fraternally yours,

JOHN W. AIKEN.

Chelsea, Mass.,

May 12, 1932.

Radio Speeches Delivered During the Campaign by Candidates and Speakers of the S. L. P.

Address of Verne L. Reynolds, Presidential Candidate of the S.L.P., over Station WIBM, Jackson, Michigan, August 10, 1932.

Fellow Working Men and Working Women of the Radio Audience:

If there are any petty business men or women listening in, you are most welcome—you will *very soon* be working men and women. It will not hurt you in the least to know the program of the revolutionary working class before you land in our ranks. But our message is by, for and to the working class, and that class, *our class*, alone.

The Socialist Labor Party, upon whose ticket I am running for the Presidency, believes we are living in a very important epoch; an epoch in which great historic changes are being made; in which the doctrines of Karl Marx, that great analyst and teacher so long sneered at, are coming into their own. Ever since the Russian Revolution the workers of the world have had a practical demonstration that their class can assume power, hold it and operate almost an entire continent for their own benefit. And since that revolution we Socialists no longer hear the capitalists or their proponents referring to Marxism as a beautiful dream. To them this hope of the workers has become a horrible and ever-present menace.

We of the Socialist Labor Party of America are not reformers. We

are not trying to patch up capitalism in any way whatsoever. On the contrary, we are revolutionists; that is, we want to abolish capitalism altogether. We are convinced that, however different the conditions in America from those in Russia, *no less a task* confronts the American workers than confronted the Russian workers and peasants. Also, looking back into American history convinces us that we will accomplish that task in a most efficient manner.

Twice in our history we have had a gigantic job to do in America, that progress might continue: Once, when we overthrew monarchy, and again, when chattel slavery was abolished. Both times we succeeded, made a *magnificent job of it* and, better still, did it the *first time we tried*. Can any other nation exhibit such a record? Not to my knowledge. Rather have they had to stumble through one or more unsuccessful attempts before learning in the bitter school of experience what **NOT TO DO** as well as what to do to attain success in their revolutionary efforts. The reason for our success in each past episode considered is likely to be found in our widespread discussion of just what the *real issue* was, and what should be done about it, before any action was taken. We have had a program for action before we did any acting—each time. So the Socialist Labor Party comes to you with a program for action to accomplish the next great task in America.

We have no use either for the so-called Socialist party, the Norman Thomas crowd, who would patch up capitalism with reforms, or for the so-called American Communists who

demand action—any kind of action so long as it is action—without a program of any kind, which action is supposed to accomplish the identical sort of reforms. Reformers are reformers, whether of the rose-water or the dirty-water variety. The job we are sure has to be done in the near future is too big to be accomplished with demonstrations and noise. Any ACTION without a *plan* for action would result, as it always does, in our acting the part of fools. Capitalism can not be patched up, either by these two parties or by their bigger brothers, the Democratic or Republican parties. It must be abolished! Wage slavery must go the way of chattel slavery. Financial Kings, Industrial Lords, Transportation Coal, Land and Oil Barons must go the way of political kings, lords and barons if the American working class is to continue to eat and live.

Now, there is no doubt that such a task as this will require much thought, much planning and a great amount of effort—also some sacrifice. As I said: It is a **BIG** job. But it is not the impossible thing many so-called “radicals” think. In fact the Socialist Labor Party membership believes it will be easier than either of the big jobs done heretofore. Listen to the summary of Karl Marx in this respect—the philosopher most feared in the world by the new “nobility” I just mentioned. Says he: “The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual production, into capitalist private property, is a process incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practised

resting upon socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation [that means the dispossession] of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.”

You see, my radio audience, it is going to be a hard job, not going to require violence, and it will be quick. Why? Because modern industry is already “socialized production.” That means it is already conducted in a **SOCIAL** way. I am told that the bumble-bee lives in a hive, produces his own honey and eats his own product; the honey-bee works in a hive with thousands of his fellows. We started off in America as human bumble-bees. We are now in the honey-bee stage, the socialized stage of production. The individual stage has already gone to production. The blacksmith shop operated individually by its owner has practically disappeared; the United States Steel corporation and other institutions have taken its place. It requires about two hundred thousand workers to run it—that is, if we would run it. The example of today is the United States railway transportation system as a whole and requires about two million workers to run it—that is, if we would only run it. (Under capitalism these no longer run properly. This is the **SOCIAL WAY OF PRODUCTION**. Like a hive of bees we work in every industry. But yet, private ownership of the tools remains the same as in the case of the hand blacksmith and his tools. Private ownership of tools and machinery), which can be operated only in a socialized man-

ner, is a social crime, the crime which is responsible for all our misery, our poverty, our wrecked homes, our cripples, our ignorance of everything except some sort of work. Tools which are socially operated must be socially owned. Capitalism must be abolished!

The workers run all industry today—that is, when it runs. The capitalists run horses and wild women and about nothing else. In fact, they run entirely away from industrial pursuits, leaving workers to manage and operate the plants of both production and distribution. Now, it is the contention of the Socialist Labor Party that if we can run things for the benefit of idle and absent parasites we can run them for ourselves—the day we so decide to do. But only, however, if we will organize into the same sort of social groups as those which operate industry now. That is why we consider Industrial Unionism as the very basis of Socialism in America.

Every industry has its own form of “human machine” operating the steel, electrical or distributive machinery. Yes, even the distribution of goods is now done in a socialized way by workers in chain stores, department stores and nation-wide mail order houses with retail branches in almost every city and village. The work of today, in each great industry, is done by an **ORGANIZATION** of workers, from managers down or up the line, as perfect as the organization existing within a hive of bees. The working class must organize into Industrial Unions, patterned exactly after the human, social organism of which they are a part in their particular

industry or plant, or section of the railroad, or store, or hospital, or school. These—Socialist Industrial Unions—must weld themselves into one great union for the whole nation to take, hold and operate all the means of production and distribution, education, entertainment and public health in America, for the benefit not of a few parasites, but the whole population, each member of which must do his or her share of the useful labor.

The Socialist Labor Party is here to educate and agitate for that kind of unionism, Industrial Unionism, until it is built—just as the Bolsheviks were intent upon getting Soviets built in Russia. We will stay on that same job until it is done. Then, too, we are here to make legal the right of this Socialist Industrial Union to assume all the functions of government. That is why we run candidates for office in each election. Our Party is pledged when elected to office to abolish political government entirely and turn the governmental functions over to the Socialist Industrial Union. As Soviets, in Russia, were the basis, the very foundation, of the new system now in force in that agricultural peasant country, so Socialist Industrial Unionism is the basis, the very foundation, of Socialism in our industrial nation.

Once built, the Soviets set up the revolutionary cry, "All Power to the Soviets!" So here, once the Socialist Industrial Union is built, the demand must be, "All Power to the Socialist Industrial Union! Let that be our only government!"

With a democracy such as this, an Industrial Democracy, we can plan production. We can, and will, pro-

duce plenty for all, use all we produce and leave nothing to pile up and cause trouble. There will be neither excessive work for a few nor unemployment, starvation and misery for any who are willing to do their tiny share of the necessary work. There will be no idle capitalists to feed upon the fat of the land, no grafting politicians, no lawyers. Our entire banking and insurance personnel could and would find work in fields more useful, and constructive workers would find their efforts better spent than in erecting structures to house either parasites or the lesser parasites who feed upon them. With all these wastes and the waste of duplication in distribution eliminated, with the cause of wars and, therefore, war themselves gone, a veritable economic paradise awaits the working class—once our next great job is finished.

My time is up. If you desire further information upon the seriousness of the present world-wide collapse of capitalism, or the detailed program of the Socialist Labor Party to accomplish the new revolution, we ask that you come to Loomis Park in Jackson at 7.30 this night. If you cannot come, then write to the following address, mark it down at once before you forget. All ready? Here it is: The Socialist Labor Party, 45 Ross Street, R-O-S-E; 45 Rose Street, New York City.

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Address by Joe Ehrhardt, S. L. P. Candidate for Governor of Wisconsin, Over Radio Station WLBL, October 18, 1932.

Voters and workers of Wisconsin, do not confuse the Socialist Labor Party with the Norman Thomas Socialist party. The Socialist Labor Party is the first, the original and the oldest party in the United States bearing the name Socialist. The Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist party are two distinct and separate organizations, each with a program and policies which are opposed to each other. The 1932 national platform of the Socialist party contains 47 planks. These 47 planks are programs to better the condition of the poor under capitalism. In spite of all objections to the contrary, the object of the so-called Socialist party is to reform, patch up and preserve capitalism.

The platform of the Socialist Labor Party contains but one single plank: the complete abolition of capitalism. Is the object of that plank to better the condition of the poor under capitalism? Emphatically, no! Socialism stands for the complete abolition of poverty and want.

The platform of the Socialist Labor Party stands for revolution. Do not be frightened by that word. George Washington, the first President of this nation, was a great revolutionist. He is one of the most honored Americans because of it. Our country was born through revolution. If you believe that revolution means violence and chaos, please put that misconception out of your mind. This falsehood has been wilfully planted in your minds by

our molders of public opinion, interested in preserving our social system so that you might not turn to revolution for a solution of your problems.

I call your attention to the last world conflict where millions of men met a bloody and violent death. The last World War was one of the greatest spectacles of violence and bloodshed that mankind has ever experienced, and yet no one dare call the World War a revolution. Everyone knows, and the late Woodrow Wilson at one time stated, that it was a war for markets. Violence may or may not accompany a revolution. A revolution is a fundamental and complete change such as a chick emerging from the shell of an egg; such as the development of animal life from the invertebrate to the vertebrate; such as an industrial revolution from individual hand production to cooperative machine production.

When the working class of America becomes classconscious, and many are drifting in that direction now, they will recognize the social and economic forces that are at work, and will organize correctly in harmony with these forces. We can then have our revolution or change, quickly and efficiently, without violence or chaos. Workers of Wisconsin, it will pay you to investigate the program of the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor Party candidate for President, Verne L. Reynolds, its candidate for Vice President, John W. Aiken, and its local candidates promise the workers nothing. All other political parties are feeding the workers with promises. In the past and present cam-

paign all other political parties, including those falsely claiming to represent labor, have promised to do something for the working class, a pledge that if we would but once again follow their leaders they would obtain better conditions for us, not in the distant future, but now under capitalism. In each election heretofore most of the workers have followed this will-o'-the-wisp of reform, have hoped for present betterment; but in spite of all the promises and hopes, the lot of both the intellectual and the manual worker has grown worse and worse. And as long as the workers depend upon promises and politicians, they need not hope for security and well-being.

America is sick, very sick, and no quack remedies will cure her. Our nation has a cancer gnawing at her vitals; that cancer is the private ownership of the means of life. If America and her people are to survive, that cancer must be removed. No politician is capable of doing this job, it must be done by the working class itself.

Here in America there is no need for poverty and want. There is some excuse for hunger in China, because the Chinese are unable to produce enough of the good things of life. We were told in 1928 that America was the richest country on earth. President Hoover on several occasions stated that the United States was self-sufficient; he meant that this nation had enough coal, iron, oil, timber and fertile lands to feed, clothe and house the people of this nation. And yet in the face of these facts we have hunger and want. Don't you think that there is something wrong with a social arrangement that compels millions of peo-

ple to suffer want in the midst of plenty that they themselves have created? What a crazy situation!

The Socialist Labor Party maintains that all social wealth is created by labor. We propose that labor get all of it.

Here in America we have hundreds of thousands of undernourished and scantily clad children, many of whom go to bed cold and hungry. Are these children hungry because we lack the foods necessary to sustain body vigor and health? Of course not. There are millions of bushels of wheat in the warehouses, fruits and vegetables are left to rot upon the ground, milk is dumped into the creeks or fed to the hogs, bananas and coffee are dumped into the ocean. A branch of the United States Government recently suggested that the fruit growers destroy one-third of their orchards, and the cotton growers plow under one-third of their cotton crop. We have too much food and textiles in America and yet our children go hungry and in rags.

Suicides because of want are on the increase. According to reports of the transient bureaus, there are 300,000 boys between the ages of 15 and 20 years who have left their homes. In 1928 we were told that America was full of opportunities. Now thousands of young men are shifted and shunted from one end of this nation to the other, in a vain attempt to secure a living. Equality of opportunity is a sham and a delusion in a land where the means of life are owned and controlled by a small group, to the injury of the large mass of the people. These thousands of young boys in their daily experiences in box cars, tramp

jungles, begging, etc., are bound to come in contact with influences that will make criminals and bums out of a large number of them. Only Socialism can give the youth of our land the opportunity to life, liberty and happiness.

A Washington (D.C.) report of March 9, 1932, states "that millions of workers now unemployed can never return to their jobs." In 1776 the American was truly a free and independent individual. If he did not care to work for an employer, he moved out west and carved out his own existence independently of all others. Not so with the American worker of today. His only means of securing the things necessary to sustain life is to get a job and work for wages. When that opportunity is denied him, our modern American worker is helpless.

Modern machines, which can and should be a boon to mankind, have become a curse under capitalism. Since these machines have actually increased production, and hence by all logic should have increased the well-being of our people, they cannot by any stretch of the imagination be the real cause of the present situation. We have unemployment and misery not because of machines but because of capitalism. The factor that determines production and the employment of the working class under capitalism is the ability to find a market for the product. The status of the working class today is that of merchandise. Supply and demand regulate the price of merchandise. Because of an overabundance of workers, the price of our merchandise, labor power, has dropped to a mere subsistence level.

On September 17, Columbia Uni-

versity engineers made public a report on an energy survey of North America, stating that the Chinese coolie is richly rewarded for what he produces in comparison to the American worker. The report further states that on a production basis the American worker is the poorest paid in the world. In other words, the American working class with its living wage cannot buy the tremendous amount of goods created in our factories.

Capitalism must have a market in order to survive. Now, then, there are two divisions of the market; the one at home and the one abroad. The big market of today is for construction merchandise, concrete and asphalt machinery, plant extensions, electrical development, etc. Far less is it for food, clothing and other necessities, even including the radio, automobile and other semi-luxuries.

The market for commodities of expansion is based upon and depends upon the market for consumable commodities. New hat factories are not built, nor present factories made larger, except while the demand for hats is visibly on the increase, and above the ability of present equipment to supply that demand. The present equipment is more than enough, hence the big market for hat-making machinery, factory buildings, more electrical power, as well as the market for labor power in this industry, is completely gone. The market for hats may still be but slightly below the level of the previous year but the big market for commodities of expansion is gone. The one illustration is sufficient, but it applies alike to sardines and automobiles, to cotton gloves and radio

sets, to workmen's homes and office buildings. Such a situation has never developed in the past.

But what of the market for consumable commodities? Is it still quite a factor toward stability? Let us see. As long as we could see the possibility of future work and wages we purchased and paid on the instalment plan. To say the least, new purchases will not be made when we are out of work. That market is gone, completely gone. Of course, there is food. We must have food, even if they have to give it to us, and this is a market for some of their goods. Well, just consider the human stomach for a moment. It can be deflated like a toy balloon. We can still live on far less food than we consume now, and at a much lower cost; and we will be expected to do this when out of work. As for clothing, we can wear and wear the old ones for years if necessary. Even this small market will speedily diminish.

The market abroad, unlike the market at home, is to a great extent for commodities of expansion. What was wanted was a considerable amount of machinery and the power with which to drive it. The counterparts of Ford plants, U.S. Steel plants, General Electric plants, etc., were what were wanted abroad.

The time is fast approaching when there will be not even a temporary relief, for the reason that the foreign market is gradually being eliminated. That is to say, in the measure that foreign markets are invaded they become in turn producers of goods themselves, and in due time they too will seek an outlet. When this condition be-

comes general, and it is nearly so now, there will be a permanent surplus in the warehouses at home, which in turn means that many plants will have to shut down for longer and longer periods, or permanently, with the further result that there will be millions of unemployed at all times in all countries of the world.

We can have no prosperity again unless we can find a market so great that all our factories, mills, mines, farms, etc., operating at capacity would not be sufficient to meet it. A market so great that we would have to construct more radio and automobile factories, more hotels, more office buildings, etc., to meet the requirements of business. It is plain that half the workers can operate the present factories and farms to capacity and unless we can put the other half to building new ones they must remain unemployed. Capitalism cannot solve the problem of where to find a market to absorb the tremendous amount of goods that can be produced. Soon the impossibility of living under the old arrangements and institutions will compel the workers to move.

This problem can only be solved by taking away the mines, mills and factories from the capitalist class and making them the property of all the people, giving everyone the right to work and the full fruits of their efforts.

To take property away from a small privileged class because necessity and progress demanded it is nothing new to the American people. In 1776 the thirteen colonies, the private property of King George, were taken from the British Crown by the American people.

Later the American people took the slaves, the private property of the southern slave holders, away from the slave holders by abolishing chattel slavery. And now, because of necessity, the American people must take the factories, mines and mills away from the capitalist class.

One hundred years ago in America production was carried on by hand. The individual owned his land, his tools, his shop, and consequently he owned and enjoyed the things he created. From that time until now a great change has taken place. Today America is no longer a nation of property owners. The village blacksmith shop has been transformed into a giant factory. The blacksmith shop of our day is the U. S. Steel Corporation. The shoemaker of the past with his hammer, nails and bench has vanished, his place taken by huge factories. The tailor with his needles and shears is gone, replaced by the textile industries producing textiles and garments with semi-automatic and full-automatic machinery.

The American worker no longer owns his tools nor the land and buildings in which these tools are housed. These are owned by the capitalist class. The worker, in order to live, must use these tools. But he can use them only upon this condition, that everything he creates belongs to the owners of these tools, the capitalist class, and that in return the workers receive only a living wage.

Capitalism cannot find a market, it is doomed. We have experienced an industrial revolution of the first order during these past one hundred years. This industrial world can no longer be confined within the

shell of capitalist law, ethics and institutions. Our upholders of capitalism are trying to run a twentieth century industrial world with an eighteenth century political machine and are making a botch job of it. We need a social revolution to fit our industrial revolution. The message that history brings us is that nothing is permanent. Sooner or later there comes to all human institutions the final rap on the door. To save humanity capitalism must be abolished. The Socialist Labor Party points the way.

That program is to take over the mines, mills and factories through political and economic action, and have them owned, operated and controlled by the working class in common; and to abolish politicians and the Political State. No other party advocates this program.

Society today is not a simple organism. It is like the human body, a highly developed and centralized body. A simple organism of lower life, such as the amoeba, can be cut in two and both parts will live. Not so the highly centralized organism, the human body. The same with society. Capitalism has failed and is collapsing. The highly organized industries of America, tightly woven together with thousands of crisscrossing threads must be operated and kept intact or civilization goes to ruin. Only the Socialist Labor Party program can save civilization.

Political action is the badge of civilized man. Through progress humanity has been able to conquer and establish certain rights. The ones that concern us most in this discussion are freedom of expression and assemblage, and the right to

revolution, to complete change. You people of America have the legal right to abolish or alter any form of administration and put in its place another form of administration, providing a sufficient number of people desire it.

The ballot means the right of participation in government. When you vote for capitalism you have no one but yourselves to blame when you are compelled to suffer want. Taking these facts into consideration the Socialist Labor Party aims to use the rights that civilization has established. These rights include these opportunities: (1) Educational campaigns; (2) the opportunity to organize under capitalism; (3) the possibility of settling this important issue without chaos and violence.

Rights are established on the political field. The Socialist Labor Party, reflecting the spirit of the age, aims to establish humanity's right to the ownership of the industries of the land. That is the political part of the Socialist Labor Party program. But that is only half the story.

History teaches us that right without the might to enforce it is the weakest thing on earth. I refer you to the subjugation of the free and independent Gallic people by the Roman Legions; the conquest of Peru by the gold-crazed Spaniards; the invasion of peaceful African villages by bloodthirsty slave traders, shooting down all who resisted and bringing the rest here to America to be slaves upon our southern plantations. This slave traffic and trampling of human rights lasted up until the Civil War; the Bull Pen of Idaho and other labor outrages up until this present day.

The rights of the working class have been trampled upon in the past and will be trampled upon in the future unless the working class organizes a power of sufficient strength to prevent said trampling. The working class has no military strength to enforce its rights. Had the working class of America had a strength, a power that is far superior to military action.

That power arises from the workers organized into powerful Socialist Industrial Unions. The Industrial Union is the working class organized in industry from the top to the bottom. Each industry organized into one big unit upon the principle of one for all and all for one. All these unions organized into one organization with a central body is what gives power to the working class. What does this power consist of? It consists of a complete control and administration of all activities in the nation. Numerically the working class is the largest class; economically it is the only class able to operate industry.

The workers organized in this manner control transportation, communication, manufacture, foodstuffs, in fact, everything. History tells us that economic power is the source of all power. The workers organized in industries on Socialist Labor Party lines possess an unconquerable weapon with which we can eliminate capitalism and put into effect the rights established upon the political field. But that does not tell the whole story.

The Industrial Union has another function. It is to be the government of the future. I know this sounds strange to the average person. People have a superstitious

reverence for the State and all its adjuncts. This superstition is all the more natural since from our very childhood we have grown up in the idea that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society cannot be taken care of in any other way than through the State and its functionaries, the politicians. This is an error.

At one time there was no State. The individual savage was a law unto himself. Later on, when mankind began to live in groups, administration was carried on through kinship. The adults of both sexes made the laws, chose their chiefs, etc. The function of administration at that time was to plan production and look after the interests of the whole of the tribe.

But then, with the birth of the Roman Empire, human slavery became an institution. Imagine a chattel slave of the Roman Empire sitting in council with a Caesar and his nobles, having a voice in government and helping to make the laws of the Empire. Impossible — ridiculous! The old administration and government of a free people did not fit and could not function under these circumstances. The Caesars had invented and put into effect a new administration that did fit. They put in the State, the Political State. From that time up until now we have had a slave class and a master class. The object of the State is to protect the privileges and property of the master class against the slave class. In spite of progress and civilization the essence of the State has remained the same.

Theoretically the President, Governor or Mayor is to represent all the people in a given territory. This

is impossible because we have two classes in society with opposing interests. And since ninety-nine per cent of the activities of the State consists of regulating and protecting private property, it certainly cannot represent the interest of the propertyless working class.

At election time a worker and a capitalist can go to the booths and vote. The ballot of the capitalist counts for no more than the vote of the worker. They are equal for about a moment. The worker, if he has a job, returns to the factory where he has nothing to say and must do as he is told, while the capitalist may go to a board of directors' meeting and cast a vote that will affect the lives of thousands of workers.

We have reached an age where the worker, to be secure, must have a voice in industry. This is only possible through Socialism. The government of the future will not be so constructed to subjugate the mass of the people for the benefit of the few. Socialism means a classless society. The function of administration will be to plan production, to give everyone an opportunity to live and enjoy life, and to look after the interests of the whole of the people.

The Political State does not fit our twentieth century industrial world. We propose to abolish it and put in its place the Industrial Government of Labor, that does fit and that can truly be a government of, for and by the people. And that can guarantee life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to all of our people.

That, my friends, is the program of the Socialist Labor Party, the only really Socialist party in the

United States. If you believe in this program, your vote belongs to the Socialist Labor Party. Our state ticket is as follows: Joe Ehrhardt, Governor; Abe Fisher, Lieutenant Governor; John Schleier Jr., Attorney General.

The Socialist Labor Party's candidate for President is Verne L. Reynolds; for Vice President, John W. Aiken. Vote and organize to abolish capitalism. That is the only way you can gain security and happiness. For further information please address your communications to the Socialist Labor Party, 45 Rose Street, New York, New York.

I thank you.

Address by Aaron M. Orange, S.L.P. Candidate for Governor of the State of New York, Over Radio Station WGY, Schenectady, N. Y., October 22, 1932.

Good evening, fellow workingmen and women:

The Socialist Labor Party calls upon the useful workers of the United States, on the eve of this election of 1932, to reflect seriously upon the problems brought on by the collapse of the present system of capitalism.

Four years ago, when politicians of various stripes and colors pleaded with us to elect them to office, to continue so-called prosperity; when Mr. Hoover, the present occupant of the White House, plunged his head into the economic sands by telling us (I am quoting Mr. Hoover) that "the fundamental business of the country . . . is on a sound and prosperous basis," that "unem-

ployment in the sense of distress is widely disappearing," that "we in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land," that "the poorhouse is vanishing from among us," the Socialist Labor Party stood alone against all political parties of the nation and raised its voice to inform the working class of the United States that capitalism was on the verge of collapse, in fact had already begun to show undeniable signs of complete breakdown. I quote the following from the national platform of the Socialist Labor Party of 1928: "The Capitalist Social System has wrought its own destruction. . . . With the purchasing power of wages sinking to ever lower depths; with certainty of work hanging on ever slenderer threads; with an ever more gigantically swelling army of the unemployed; with the need of profits pressing the Industrial Autocracy harder and harder to squander recklessly the workers' limbs and lives; what with all this and the parallel process of merging the workers of all industries into one interdependent solid mass, the final break-up is rendered inevitable."

I repeat, the Socialist Labor Party was the only political party in the field that analyzed the situation correctly in 1928; for over forty years we had been predicting this economic breakdown. The correctness of our prediction, and our diagnosis of the cause, is, increasingly, commanding the confidence of all intelligent citizens.

Exactly this situation that confronts us today was forecast by one of our revolutionary forefathers. James Madison said: "We are free

today substantially, but the day will come when our Republic will be an impossibility. It will be an impossibility because wealth will be concentrated in the hands of a few. A republic cannot stand upon bayonets, and when that day comes, when the wealth of the nation will be in the hands of a few, then we must rely upon the wisdom of the best elements in the country to readjust the laws of the nation to the changed conditions."

Listen to this pointed and all-inclusive corroboration of these predictions of capitalism's final collapse. Mr. Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, one of the outstanding spokesmen of the capitalist world, had this to say at a banquet given to the financial lords of Britain by the Lord Mayor of London, recently:

"The difficulties are so vast, so unlimited, that I approach the whole subject not only in ignorance, but in humility. It is too great for me. I wonder if anyone in the world can really direct the affairs of the world or of his country, with any assurance of the result his action will have.

"Who, a year ago, could have foreseen the position to which, little by little, we drifted; first down and then up; then down and then up.

"The confused events of the world have brought about a series of events and a general tendency which appears to me presently outside the control of any man, any country, or any government."

That statement certainly is a most serious indictment by one of the outstanding exponents of capitalism, expressing complete bankruptcy and bewilderment; and yet

up to now, we have been depending on individuals of the type of Mr. Montagu Norman to find a way out of the world's present difficulties.

Resuming, Karl Marx, the founder of scientific political economy, upon whose scientific findings the program of the Socialist Labor Party is based, predicted that capitalism would collapse of its own weight, as indeed it has, when it could no longer expand, and when it had to resort to feeding the working class instead of being fed by it. Do these conditions set down by Marx, as marking the collapse of capitalism, exist today? Have the predictions of Marx been fulfilled? Has capitalism collapsed? Let us examine the evidence presented to us: In a survey published by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, figures on the index of business activity in the United States are as follows: In the month of May 1931, business activity was 71 per cent of the normal. In May 1932, business had dropped to 47 per cent—a drop of 24 points in a year, or 2 points on an average each month. However, from April 1932 to May 1932, the drop was from 51 to 47 per cent, or a drop of 4 points for the month. The rate of decline had doubled up. Capitalism in collapse may be compared to a snowball rolling down hill. The snowball gets larger as it rolls on its downward course, while its speed increases. On all sides, production is being curtailed; factories, mines, mills are shut down, or working part-time with improved machinery; capital, instead of expanding, is contracting. The first condition set down by Marx is fulfilled.

On the other hand, along with this shutdown of industry, the introduction of ever improving, that is, labor-displacing, machinery of production enables the capitalist owners to turn an ever growing army of workers from industry. According to government figures, unemployment in the United States increased at an average rate of 267,000 a month from January to June of 1932. During the month of June the increase was 600,000 — *once again, the rate of increase had more than doubled up.* According to those figures, by January 1933, we shall have well over 13 million out of work—and that is probably a conservative estimate. Add to these 13 million, the millions working on part-time, and we are able to increase the number of unemployed by several millions. Considering the fact that there are three or four dependents relying on each of the majority of these unemployed, we may safely estimate the number of persons in the United States faced with starvation at about one-third of the total population. These people must be fed in one way or another by the capitalist class, through charitable institutions, relief funds, soup kitchens, etc. In other words, we have the capitalist class feeding a large portion of the working class, instead of being fed by it. And we find that the second condition set down by Marx as pointing to the breakdown of capitalism has been fulfilled. Naturally, the growing seriousness of this problem is taxing the resources of the capitalist class to the breaking point.

Now then, what is the cause of this collapse of capitalism; why can it no longer expand; why is our ar-

my of unemployed growing larger every day? Once again, Karl Marx provided the answer. He showed that the germ which generated this collapse is inherent in the social system. As with all other social systems that preceded capitalism, namely, Feudalism and Ancient Slave Society, the germ of destruction of the system is generated within it and makes its downfall *inevitable*. In capitalism, that germ is the fact that labor power is a commodity, a piece of merchandise, which, like all other commodities, may be bought and sold on the labor market. We of the working class are compelled to sell ourselves on the labor market. In return for our mental and physical labor, we workers receive, at best, a "living wage." This wage is equivalent to what it costs to keep us living in such shape as will enable us to continue to turn out wealth for the capitalist class. According to government figures, we of the working class produce approximately 90 billions in wealth per year, in "normal" times, and receive in the form of wages about 15 billions. Reduced to simple terms we receive about \$1.00 in every \$6.00 we produce. In that fact is contained the germ that will cause the death of capitalism. It is the cause of the class struggle that can end only in the working class taking the entire product of its labor.

Since we of the working class can only buy back the value of about \$1.00 in every \$6.00 we produce, there is a surplus of \$5.00 in the hands of the capitalist class. In various ways they dispose of this surplus wealth. When capitalism is growing, *is able to expand either do-*

mentally or in foreign lands, the capitalist class is able to dispose of this surplus wealth.

Bearing in mind the fact that competition caused the capitalists to introduce ever improving machinery of production, which enabled the working class to turn out ever more commodities with fewer workingmen, we soon arrive at the historical point where the capitalist class discovered it could not dispose of this surplus wealth within the confines of the United States. In the United States, in 1893, this surplus wealth was piled up. There was no domestic market for it. Factories closed down and one million men were out of work in the "depression" that followed. After the war of 1898, with the acquisition of the Philippine Islands as a foothold in the Pacific, we opened up new foreign markets, and were able to dispose of this wealth. However, with competition compelling the introduction of improved machinery, by 1907, the same condition prevailed in intensified form. Too much wealth on hand; two million were out of work. The World War saved capitalism by providing a market for this wealth. By 1921, the unemployed had increased to some four or five million, and the establishment of credit expansion systems temporarily saved capitalism. The panic which now confronts us finds 13 million and more unemployed, with no outlet for the goods. The domestic market is dwindling. The foreign market is disappearing since capitalism has fulfilled its mission, has expanded on a world-wide scale.

The only possible way now to save capitalism is a world war that can destroy wealth and shoot down

the unemployed. And even such a slaughter-fest could bring capitalism back to normal for only a short period. That so-called normalcy, however, would find about 55 per cent of our present unemployed workers *out of work*. This remarkable fact has been provided by Professor Howard Scott, an industrial engineer of Columbia University, who shows that many workers have been displaced by machinery permanently. Of course, by resorting to war to save itself, capitalism may deliver to itself the final staggering blow. It still remembers, moreover, that Russia established a working class government as a result of the last war.

Now, then, what is there to be done? Is our problem a hopeless one? Or is there a solution that points to progress? We in the Socialist Labor Party point to the fact that so long as the capitalist class owns the industries of the nation, and allows us in the working class to operate them only when they can squeeze out profits, just so long shall we of the working class continue to be faced with the miseries of capitalism. Further, so long as we of the working class continue to support political parties that are attempting to patch up dying capitalism, just so long will the problems of capitalism be with us. To rid ourselves of the effects of capitalism we must simply abolish the system.

The Socialist Labor Party is the only political organization today that urges the useful workers of the land to abolish capitalism. The Socialist Labor Party also points to the instrument with which to accomplish that task. By accepting the teachings of the Socialist Labor

Party, the working class is enabled to pave its own way to the Industrial Republic of Labor and — A BRIGHT FUTURE!

In pattern, the task set for us is similar to that accomplished by our revolutionary forefathers of 1776, the difference being that ours is based upon a highly developed social-collective machine civilization, theirs was based upon an undeveloped individualistic handicrafts and agrarian civilization. The American colonists of that period, being the private property of King George III. (i.e., the British crown), were used to aid in the expansion of English capital. Various restrictions in the form of trade laws, taxes, etc., were imposed upon the colonists. Fettered by the bonds of English capital, and with conditions developing to that point where they were no longer sufferable, the colonists were compelled to ORGANIZE for their emancipation. How?

On the level of economic development of the colonial period, LAND (with the simple hand tools to operate it) was the important productive material. *On that basis were they compelled to organize* to overthrow the monarchy and rid themselves of the effects of the social system of the tyrannous George III. The colonists elected representatives from LAND AREAS (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, etc.) to the Continental Congress of 1774. There was the instrument which reflected the economic structure of that day. Having organized that UNION, the colonists used it as the instrument with which to overthrow the monarchy. After July 4, 1776, the task having been accomplished, that same UNION

became the new government of the nation.

A small handful of revolutionists of that day—the Committees of Correspondence—urged the colonists to adopt that program for their emancipation. For many years their agitation was apparently fruitless. The majority in the colonies wanted to “reform” the monarchy; they wanted to temporize with the British crown. *Anything* but revolution. But when conditions became insufferable, the colonists had to accept the revolutionary way out; the task was then accomplished in short order.

The immediate problem of the working class today—emancipation—is similar in design to that of yesterday. However, new materials have been forged out of the more highly developed economic structure. Capitalism has come, has accomplished its mission, and is now on the verge of death. As the final hour approaches, the mass of misery and oppression grows, “but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself.” Life under this system being unbearable, the useful producers of the nation must ORGANIZE for their emancipation. How?

On the present level of economic development, INDUSTRY is the important productive material. *On that basis shall we be compelled to organize to overthrow capitalism and rid ourselves of the effects of capitalism.* We of the working class, in our plants of production, must organize ourselves into IN-

DUSTRIAL UNIONS. All workers contributing to the socially necessary labor to turn out a product in a particular plant must organize into one union; workers in industries of similar output, organized into local Industrial Unions in their particular plants, must organize into National Industrial Unions, with representatives from the several local unions; the various National Industrial Unions, representing the organized working class in industrial units, must elect representatives to the Central Administrative Authority of the land, the Industrial Congress, wherein are represented the different productive activities of the nation. There is the instrument which reflects the existing economic structure of society. That INDUSTRIAL UNION, once organized, becomes the instrument with which we of the working class will be enabled to display our organized might, becomes the club we shall wield in our move to abolish capitalism. With that task accomplished, that same Industrial Union becomes the new administrative body of the land, the Industrial Government. Therein shall the working class discover its bright future!

The Socialist Labor Party is the agitational force of today urging the workers to accept this program. Rally under its banner on the political field to carry on this work and spread our message of emancipation of labor; join together into Industrial Unions to build our MIGHT to back up our political RIGHT to revolution. For many years our agitation was seemingly fruitless. However, capitalism's collapse is forcing the working class—already

“disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself” — to lend an ear to the message of the Socialist Labor Party, and soon the workers, like the American colonists, must accept the revolutionary way out. This IDEA is being spread to the extent that the resources of the Socialist Labor Party permit. The next move is up to the working class.

All other political parties on the field today without exception are out to perpetuate capitalism. With the two major parties, the Republicans and Democrats, it is merely a question of whether Tweedledce or Tweedledum shall have hold of the machinery of government. Both are the recognized tools of American capital. Both are promising more public works—lower taxes; more employment — further retrenchment; more charity—smaller budgets; a nonsensical set of contradictions impossible of fulfillment, proving that both are incapable of solving the present social-economic problems.

The so-called Socialist party, headed by Norman Thomas, is also attempting to reform or patch up capitalism, that cannot be reformed. Its program contains planks for public works to relieve unemployment, and government unemployment insurance. These reforms, *if it were possible to accomplish them*, might give capitalism a new lease on life for a short period. In the face of the present economic breakdown, we point to the absolute impossibility of ever raising the funds, in the form of bond issues or taxes, to accomplish these reforms. Aside from the impossibility of putting its

program across, just what business has an organization, flying the colors of Socialism, claiming to represent the working class, to propose measures in an effort to *preserve capitalism*. We claim—and prove—that this party is not a Socialist party in any sense; that it is merely a machine for lying about Socialism. Recently, our Presidential candidate, Verne L. Reynolds, challenged Mr. Norman Thomas to debate the proposition “that the so-called Socialist party is anti-working class and a pro-capitalist reform party.” Up to this time, Mr. Thomas has seen fit not to accept it. The challenge, however, is a standing one.

The Communist party presents a program which in essence is identical with that of the so-called Socialist party. It is out to get “relief” for the working class and the “oppressed” in this defunct social system. One of the demands is more ridiculous than the next one while capitalism lasts, and useless if it is done away with.

Alone, against all these, stands the Socialist Labor Party with its program of revolution, with just one demand—the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of an industrial government, of, by and for the working class.

Does this program sound too revolutionary for you? Is it too much to ask that we stop trying to *alter* a social system that has outlived its usefulness, that we begin thinking of how to organize to *abolish* it? Do you fear, perhaps, that we don't have the **RIGHT** to overthrow the existing form of government? Listen to these words of one of our outstanding Americans. In his first inaugural address, delivered on March

4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln said: “This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or *their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.*”

If you want further justification for our right to revolution, turn to the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, where we are informed that “whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness] *it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government*, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”

Do you fear, perhaps, that we in the working class do not have the **MIGHT** or the **POWER** to accomplish this change? Just examine this industrial organization, which is operating under capitalist ownership within the United States. Note how closely knit a unit we are. Then picture one big Industrial Union of the entire working class of the nation. Organized into that Union, with the goal in view of abolishing capitalism, and carrying on production for ourselves, for our own use, in a planned, organized way, we are a **POWER that cannot be beat down**.

The Socialist Labor Party points out that we in the working class will be compelled by the very force of the collapse of capitalism itself to organize into that Union. As Daniel De Leon, the great American Socialist, expressed it, economic pres-

sure from above will generate that white heat which is necessary to produce revolution. In that case, it is not even a matter of *choice* as to whether we shall or shall not organize the Industrial Union. Economic breakdown will make it a *necessity*. For this reason, the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the working class of America more seriously than ever before to heed our message. Stop chasing rainbows of reform. Align yourself with the only revolutionary movement of labor in the United States today.

If you want what we want, namely, one big Industrial Union of the workers in the United States, as an instrument to abolish capitalism; and a political party to give us the right to abolish it, whereupon that Industrial Union becomes the new government of the United States, then let us know it by voting the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party at this election.

Support our Party. Read our literature. Equip yourself to spread our message. Become acquainted with our official organ, the **WEEKLY PEOPLE**.

Our candidate for President is Verne L. Reynolds of New York. Our candidate for Vice President is John W. Aiken of Massachusetts. He who speaks to you now is candidate for Governor of New York State. Support our national, state and local tickets. Sweep our candidates into office for the purpose of abolishing the political form of government. Organize the Industrial Union.

Get in touch with our National Headquarters for further information. We publish a vast assortment of books, pamphlets and free litera-

ture, as well as the **WEEKLY PEOPLE**, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. Get your pencil at once and write down this address. Here it is—remember it until you write it. Then send for information to the Socialist Labor Party, 45 Rose Street—**R-O-S-E**, Rose, 45 Rose St., New York City. Good night.

Address by John Schleier Jr., S. L. P. Candidate for Attorney General of Wisconsin, Over Radio Station **WLBI**, October 24, 1932.

Fellow working men and working women:

The Socialist Labor Party stands arrayed against the field today. Opposed to us are all the parties of capitalism who have their platforms filled with numerous so-called demands or reform measures. The politicians representing these parties, from Foster to Hoover, speak glibly of what they are going to do for us. The Socialist Labor Party alone holds out no baits or promises. Politicians can do nothing for us. We must organize and do something for ourselves.

Capitalism, this social system in which misery is the reward for labor and an abundance the reward for idleness, is visibly crumbling. The goods that glut the granaries and warehouses today were produced for the market and the market has disappeared. The immediate effect of this collapse is widespread misery and despair. Crime is on the increase. Homes are being broken up by the thousands. The relief committee of New York has recently

announced that its survey shows an increase in the cases of abandonment of 134 per cent. Suicides are so numerous that the gruesome details are relegated to obscure corners of the daily papers where they were once featured on the front page. Insanity is increasing so rapidly that hardly a state has facilities to care for the thousands driven mad through worry and fear of starvation. Graft and corruption in our city, state and federal governments are notorious.

These things are all indications of the decaying condition of capitalism.

On September 9, hundreds of workers boarded the ferry boat "Observation" in New York to cross the East River. A few feet from the pier its boiler exploded. Bodies were hurled into the air in every direction. Only workers were aboard. It was much too early for the idle class to be up and about. This ferry had been pronounced safe only a short time before by government inspectors although a committee of investigation reported it to be "unseaworthy, undermanned and overcrowded." The report was filed — and forgotten. Then came the catastrophe and more than a hundred workers paid with their lives and limbs.

Capitalism is like this rotten hulk. Just as the ferry was operated as long as possible regardless of danger, capitalism, the social system in which profit is god, will be kept afloat until it cracks from stem to stern.

We Socialists look forward to the final breakdown of the system. We welcome it, for we know that if the workers are organized properly it

means our emancipation. If we fail to organize our defeat is certain. It will be bloody and disastrous for humanity. Whether you like it or whether you don't, the revolution is coming. It is coming because of the inherent contradictions within capitalism. While the markets of the world have become mythical things, our capacity to produce expands apace.

The development of labor-displacing machinery in the last fifteen years is as great as a whole century of development prior to that. It has been so rapid that according to the report issued by a body of industrial engineers cooperating with Mr. Howard Scott and Dr. Walter N. Rautenstrauch of the School of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University, if we resumed operations and reached the 1929 peak of production, fully forty-five per cent of those unemployed today would still be without jobs. This report, which appeared in the *New York Times*, states:

"Since the arrival of technology wherever mechanization has taken place in a major industry employment tends to become an inverse function of the rate of total output and, after passing the peak, tends to decline proportionally to the decline of energy per unit produced. The iron and steel industry, for instance, had the same total employment in 1929 as in 1887, but the output in 1929 was 9.3 times that of forty-two years ago. The radio industry, starting about 1920, reached its maximum employment in 1925, but it was four years later before it attained its greatest production capacity of 8,000,000 sets a year.

"Among the more striking instances of displacement of men by machines is the recent development of an electrically controlled apparatus which will do away with the need for accountants and auditors in the operation of gasoline filling station chains. The machine keeps a record at each sale of any number of roadside filling stations, subtracts the amount of gasoline and oil from the amount on hand at any time of the day. In addition, price changes will be registered instantly in every station unit of the system through the mere pressure of a button on the desk of a manager in a central office.

"A new machine, 2,100 feet long and operated from a control board by twelve men whose duties consist of pushing buttons, has been installed in the mid-west, to do the work of a sheet-steel rolling mill. Another machine displaced thousands of men formerly employed in the production of automobile chassis frames. It produces 10,000 automobile chassis frames daily and requires only 208 men to put the finishing touches on its output.

"An electric lamp machine recently installed has a production of 531,000 lamp globes a day, an increase per man of 9,000 times the method previously employed. Machines for the manufacture of cigarettes have been improved to such an extent in the last two years that they produce from 2,500 to 2,600 cigarettes a minute, as compared with the previous maximum of 500 or 600 cigarettes.

"A factory for the production of rayon yarn is nearing completion in New Jersey. Its operation is entirely mechanical and production can

be carried on twenty-four hours a day without a single worker in the plant.

"Due to improved production it would be possible for 100 men working in five properly equipped plants to manufacture all the brick produced by 2,370 brick plants in 1929."

These are enough to reveal to the blindest workingman that there is no hope under capitalism. These machines are a curse so long as they belong to one group of people and are used to exploit the masses as the highwayman uses his gun to extract tribute from his victim. They will be a blessing only when they are converted into public or socially owned property and are operated to supply the needs of humanity. Nor can it be said that the workers thus displaced are employed in new industries or in the machine-making industry which is more mechanized than most of the rest. I have some figures that speak eloquently of the actual effect upon employment. They come from a census monograph issued by the United States Government. These figures state that between the years of 1899 and 1909, production increased by 59 per cent. This was not altogether due to improved machinery, however, for during the same period the number of workers required increased by 40 per cent. In the next ten years, from 1909 to 1919, production increased again by 35 per cent. Here too the figures show an increase in the workers employed of 38 per cent. Similarly in the last ten years under consideration. Production increased as before by 42 per cent. Was there an increase in the number of workers? No! Instead there was

a decrease of 7 per cent. Now we know who enjoyed the prosperity the politicians boasted about so vociferously. But some of you may be quick with figures. You will say that 7 per cent amounts to a little more than half a million. This is true but when you take into consideration the fact that the normal increase in population throws five and a half million workers on the labor market you can begin to estimate the wretched plight in which we find ourselves.

Every worker over forty or even thirty-five years of age can testify that it is wellnigh impossible for him to secure employment any more. An Englishman who had visited a Chicago manufacturer remarked upon the absence of older workmen in his factory. "Well," said the manufacturer, "if they worked hard they are worn out at forty. If they are not worn out, it's a sign they didn't work hard and we don't want them either way."

As for the youth of this country, they are a lost generation. Thousands of them will be found every summer spending every sunny day on the free bathing beaches. They have never had a job and are being degraded by ennui and idleness. According to a despatch issued by the children's bureau of the Department of Labor:

"A hungry horde of 200,000 children, driven from their homes by economic adversity, is loafing back and forth across the nation on an indefinite junket to nowhere.

"They seek only enough food to keep them alive as they push out of the North and East in their flight to escape the coming winter in the

everlasting springtime of southern California and Florida."

With what face does our engineer President say, as he did recently, that "the doors of opportunity remain open for the youth of this nation"?

The engineer President, like all the apologists for capitalism, is much like the engineers who inspected the boilers on the ill-fated ferry boat that put so many workers in watery graves. He is blind and dumb to the facts that fairly screech the death knell to capitalism, and answers every charge with, "Confidence, have confidence, and everything will be well."

It is the duty of the Socialist Labor Party not to fill you with confidence in capitalism, but to point out its idiotic absurdities. Still there are other parties that point accusing fingers at capitalism. The Socialist and Communist parties are among these. Then, when they have finished their indictment, they finish off with promises of relief *under capitalism*. Their reforms are patchwork, palliatives to get our vote and shore up the old social order. That they are harmless to capitalism was plain to everyone with perception when Teddy Roosevelt stole the platform of the Socialist party in 1912. Today the relief measures offered by the Communist party and the Socialist party are virtually the same—and differ in no essential from those of the old parties. We of the Socialist Labor Party say: Let those who profit from the system patch it up. We suffer from it, therefore, let us bend our efforts toward the complete abolition of the whole profit system.

The time is passing when we feed

the capitalists. Today they are forced to feed us in ever increasing numbers. To withhold relief means the system will crash immediately. Recently a Miami paper printed an editorial in which was quoted a passage from a British paper dealing with the subject of unemployment insurance. It said in part, "The dole has at least prevented starvation and in England it is safe to say it has prevented a revolution." Let us leave to the capitalists the rather doubtful honor of 'patching up and shoring up their social system. Let us bend our efforts to abolish it. Already their efforts at relief have resulted in the virtual bankruptcy of many large American cities. The increase in taxes, which the top-capitalists have placed as much as possible on the shoulders of the little capitalists, is crushing these little fellows out of existence by the thousands.

Incidentally it is not true that the tax issue is important to the working class. To think so is to be a victim to the tax-reform artist, is to believe that we have something in common with the capitalist class. Taxes are paid on property and as a class we are propertiless. Yet the Communist and Socialist parties have tax reforms in their platforms further to confuse the issue. These are baits to catch votes on, especially the votes of small business men and farmers. If there are, in this radio audience, small capitalists, listen well to our program for you will be workingmen soon. Nor is it true, as Admiral Byrd stated in his speech in St. Louis last week, that the workers pay taxes indirectly, that is, that taxes on merchandise come out of our pockets. If this

were true, the manufacturers would not set up the holler that they do when their product is taxed. They know very well that the price is determined by supply and demand and the tax comes out of their pockets. This government is here to hold us in subjection and protect private property. The cost of running it amounts to more than the combined wages of the entire working class. In other words, it costs them more to hold us down than it does to pay us off.

Reforms are put into platforms for one of three reasons, either as baits to catch votes on, as worms are put on a hook to catch fish; as palliatives to lighten or relieve distress; or as sops to deflect our class interests and keep us from organizing around the principle of revolution.

When our forefathers in the thirteen colonies reached a stage in their economic development where they could go no further by reason of the laws enacted in Britain that restricted manufacture and commerce, several of them made trips to England in order to secure relief. Even the venerable Benjamin Franklin thought this was possible. He made three separate visits to England and finally returned, satisfied that it was impossible to patch up the differences. The result was that great document, the Declaration of Independence, and all it stood for. Have you read it recently? You should. A certain judge was asked to read it at some Fourth of July ceremonies in New Jersey. When he finished, he remarked that he was surprised at the incendiary language in which it was written.

It begins with these words: "We hold these truths to be self evident,

that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." Do we have these things today? Our lives are a nightmare of misery and fear of want. Our liberty consists of going from factory to factory in a fruitless effort to find a master and our happiness is a hollow joke. The document goes on to say: "That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. That whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or ABOLISH it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed should dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them to absolute Despotism, it is their RIGHT, it is their DUTY, to throw off such government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

It is as though that document were written today. It tells us it is not only our right but it is our DUTY to rid ourselves of an oppressive government.

First, let us understand whether this form of government is oppressive or not. All governments are not. All our ancestors at some time or other passed through the ethnical period of barbarism. The American Indians were passing through this period when they were discovered. They had a government. It was composed of sachems and chiefs who didn't rule over the people, their job was to direct the productive forces of that primitive society. Any attempt at usurpation promptly resulted in their loss of office. The Indians lived under a system of primitive communism. Everything was owned in common. More food meant more food for everyone and a shortage meant that all suffered alike. The words "mine" and "thine" were unknown to their language. The captives they took in warfare were either killed on the spot or adopted into the tribe. In times of famine they were known to kill them and spit them over a fire. Likewise with all our ancestry at some time or other. But with the development of agriculture and domestication of animals a new institution developed through hundreds of years.

It was private ownership of property. Man discovered work and he also discovered that work was a mighty fine thing—for someone else to do. He quit killing his enemies to get one meal out of them. He put them to WORK and got a meal out of them every day. Society was divided into classes and the old government would no longer serve the interests of the property holders. They needed a government that would help them hold their slaves in subjection as well as protect their property from the increasing hordes

of propertiless freemen. The *Political State* was born. It was based on representation from territory or geographical areas. The first Political State came into existence in ancient Greece and the first constitution was written by a man named Solon. It had an armed force organized to protect the interests, not of society, but of the ruling class. The Political State has undergone some changes but it is essentially today what it was in ancient Greece. We send representatives from states and congressional districts. Furthermore, our police, militia, army and navy are here to back up the laws that we vote for, but that protect private property owned by a few. I have but to ask two questions: Did you ever hear of the police or militia protecting workmen on strike against the attack of armed thugs of the Al Capone type? Did you ever hear of the police and militia being used to intimidate workers on strike and sometimes shoot them down? The questions answer themselves. This government is definitely one of oppression and it IS our right and our duty to abolish it.

We shall need a new government, a true democracy. How shall it be organized? Frederick Engels, the co-worker of Karl Marx, tells us that the new forms are not invented in the mind (and by the same token they are not to be imported from another country). These forms are to be discovered, with the aid of the brains, in the material facts of production that are at hand.

In America the facts cry out to us that we are an industrial nation. Railroads don't give a toot when they cross state boundary lines. Dozens of industries are grouped

within one city. Therefore representation from territory or geographical area is obsolete and outworn. Even today our political government is unable to solve the ordinary questions of capitalism. President Hoover did something unprecedented in 1929. Before that, when a crisis faced the nation, the President went to Congress and if Congress were not in session a special session was called. Did Hoover go to Congress? He seemed to sense its impotence and he ignored it entirely, leaving it to twiddle its thumbs, although it was in session at the time, and he called a congress of the business men, industrial magnates and bankers who had their fingertips on industry. Of course, it didn't do any good because these capitalists were at war with one another, but it revealed their mistrust of their own government. Our new government must be based not on territory but upon industries. Industries will take the place of states as units. We will have a steel industry in place of the state of Wisconsin and a textile industry instead of the state of New York and so on.

It was Daniel De Leon, the great American Socialist, who, after a profound study of Marxian philosophy, made this discovery in the material facts of production at hand in America. In an epoch-making address made in 1904, called "The Burning Question of Trade Unionism," he outlined his theory of Industrial Government. According to Arthur Ransome in his book "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919," "Lenin said he had read in an English Socialist paper a comparison of his own theories with those of an American, Daniel De Leon. He had then

borrowed some of De Leon's pamphlets from Reinstein (who belongs to the party which De Leon founded in America), read them for the first time, and was amazed to see how far and how early De Leon had pursued the same train of thought as the Russians. His theory that representation should be by industries, not by areas, was already the germ of the Soviet system."

Another time Lenin expressed himself regarding De Leon and the report appeared in the *New York World* under the signature of Robert Minor, February 8, 1919: "Lenin said: 'The American Daniel De Leon first formulated the idea of a Soviet Government, which grew up on his idea. Future society will be organized along Soviet lines. There will be Soviet rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial Unionism is the basic thing. That is what we are building.'"

Due to the complications and complexities of modern industry such a government is absolutely necessary. To use Marx's classic example: When a violinist plays alone he can make music without a leader, but when several musicians join together they need an orchestra leader. If they fail to have one they may "have a Louisiana Negro breakdown or a Jewish synagogue," but they won't have harmony. The leader does not dominate. He doesn't rule over them. He is as much a part of the orchestra as the cello player, the pianist or the drummer. The leader is a central directing authority. Such will be the nature of our future society. We shall vote where we work instead of where we sleep. We'll elect our own foremen and superintendents.

We'll elect our own representatives to our national government and there questions of production will be considered. Statisticians will compute the needs of the people and relay the information to the various industries where these things will be produced.

With the goal of the Industrial Republic standing out sharp and clear, the question of how to attain that goal is more easily answered. We are civilized people and therefore our methods are in keeping with the age. In America we have the ballot. In the past we have used this instrument to place power in the hands of the capitalist class. Let us use it to take that power from them. With the very word "revolution" many of you conjure a picture of bloodshed and violence. A revolution may or may not be bloody. This depends on how well we organize. Marx, whose whole life was devoted to a study of capitalism, said in a celebrated passage:

"The worker must one day capture political power in order to found the new organization of labor. He must reverse the old policy, which the old institutions maintain, if he will not, like the Christians of old who despised and neglected such things, renounce the things of this world.

"But we do not assert that the way to reach this goal is the same everywhere.

"We know that the institutions, the manners and the customs of the various countries must be considered, and we do not deny that there are countries, like England and America, and, if I understood your arrangements better, I might even add Holland, where the worker may

attain his object by peaceful means. But not in all countries is this the case."

"Therefore we call upon the working class of America to rally to the banner of the Socialist Labor Party at the polls, but remember that while the ballot is the peaceful means it has no force and is moonshine without the might to back it up.

This might is to be found in the material facts of production also. It is Industrial Unionism, the framework of the future society. Sooner or later the working class of America will have to organize these unions. Conditions will force them to, as conditions in Russia forced the organization of the Soviets. Your job today is to learn how to organize so that when things break there will be the requisite minority of workingmen able to carry this message to the masses.

Industrial Unionism is based upon two principles: First, it means a classconscious union aiming at the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of the Industrial Republic; secondly, it means that the form must be patterned after modern industry. The unions that we have today, as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor, are organized on the craft principle, so that, in the building trades, for example, we are split up into bricklayers, carpenters, stonemasons, etc. These make separate contracts with the capitalists. When they expire, if a strike is called, the other unions are reminded of their agreements. The result is that only one craft is thrown in the struggle at a time. It is like sending one squad of soldiers in to fight a battle. Instead of be-

ing organized we are in fact utterly disorganized to fight. Industrial Unionism does not recognize craft divisions. In Industrial Unionism is the united strength of the working class.

It is capable of controlling the means of life, food, transportation and communication and thus making useless the armed forces of the state. Furthermore, it is the only thing that can run the industries and it will continue to do so in the Industrial Republic.

Our candidates for office are workingmen, Verne L. Reynolds, a steamfitter, for President, and John W. Aiken, a wood polisher, for Vice President. Our state candidates are Joe Ehrhardt for Governor, Abe Fisher for Lieutenant Governor, John Schleier Jr. for Attorney General. Our candidates personify the principles of revolution and we earnestly ask that you consider this program before you cast your vote. It is often asked of us, "Does the Socialist Labor Party expect to win this campaign?" Yes, we do. This campaign doesn't end on November 8. Then the other parties are through, but our campaign continues until the revolution has been consummated. On that day the Socialist Labor Party will disband with a shout of joy. Remember, a revolutionary party only wins once.

This movement is not an importation from some other country. It has its roots in American soil and American conditions. Remember the revolutionary spirit of the Declaration of Independence. Read again the speeches of Abraham Lincoln who said in his first inaugural address, "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who

inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it."

We the wage slaves of this land are about to assert that right, and when capitalism opens its ears to the rising chorus of protest it trembles in its stolen boots. It does well to tremble, for never was a system so rotten-ripe for overthrow as this one.

At last we've solved the problem of the human race: how to produce enough. There only remains that idea planted in our minds that the capitalists have a right to the ownership of our tools and products. There is a growing perception today that private ownership in the means of life is a social crime.

Fellow working men and women, in Russia the cry went up, "All power to the Soviets," and in America the cry is bound to go up, "All power to the Industrial Unions."

Ponder well o'er this message and if we express your own aspirations get in touch with us. Get a pencil and paper now and write down the address of our national headquarters where you can write for free literature: 45, 4-5 Rose Street, R-O-S-E Street, New York City, 45 Rose St., New York City.

Remember that if you accept these principles you are bound to accept the responsibility that goes with them. Study, prepare yourselves to the end that the working class and all humanity may be emancipated and free forevermore.

Address by Eric Hass, National Organizer of the S.L.P., Over Station WHA, Madison, Wisconsin, October 24, 1932.

Citizens, fellow working men and working women:

The Socialist Labor Party does not bring you a platform filled with reform planks to catch your votes, but a program for social revolution. We can find no good in a system that renders the producers of all social values paupers, on the one hand, while it heaps inconceivable luxuries into the laps of a parasitic group of capitalists, on the other. But it is not sufficient that a social system be unreasonable and unjust. It must be outworn and unable to function before it is consigned to the dust-bin of history. Such is the condition of capitalism today.

Revolutions come, they are not made. Karl Marx, the great Socialist philosopher, made the observation that the time had long since gone by when revolutions were thought to be caused by a few disgruntled agitators. Revolutions come because of a social want in the background that cannot be satisfied within the old system.

Lenin said: "It is impossible to calculate or predict a revolution; it comes out all by itself. It is maturing now and must break forth. Did any one think, a week before the March Revolution (1917), that it was ready to blaze forth? Did any one think, at the moment when the insane monk led the people to the Czar's palace, that this was the beginning of the revolution of 1905? But revolution grows slowly and must inevitably make itself felt."

Not all revolutions are successful.

For example, the 1905 revolution that Lenin refers to resulted in a mass slaughter of Russian workers. The revolution that is knocking at the door of history today may or may not result in the emancipation of the working class. Our success depends entirely upon how you heed and respond to the prophetic message of the Socialist Labor Party.

Upon the same principle that a mariner must have a port of destination before he sets to sea, the working class must have a goal, else it will wander aimlessly and finally into the shambles of a new and worse kind of slavery. With a port in mind the mariner charts his course just as we must chart our course on the social sea. Winds may blow us off, but with a principle and goal to guide us, we will return until our craft is safely anchored in the Industrial Republic of Labor.

A hundred and fifty years ago we were a free people. We were free because most of us owned property, for property was easily acquired in those days. The tools we worked with were simple and if we didn't like our master we had the alternative of starting a shop of our own. Failing in this, we could always go west and carve our destiny out of the virgin forest. The Republic our illustrious forefathers established was meant to guarantee to us these opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It was based upon the institution of private property, but inasmuch as the majority were property owners the government represented the great mass of the people.

A profound change has taken place since then. That simple tool

owned by the worker has become a gigantic machine that requires the cooperative effort of hundreds of thousands of workers and it is owned by a group that takes no part in the productive process. As the tool developed, requiring larger and larger masses of capital, the little business men and manufacturers dropped by the wayside to swell the growing army of wage workers.

One of our forefathers foresaw this process of concentration. His name was James Madison and he was the fourth President of the United States. These are his prophetic words: "We are free today substantially. But the time will come when this Republic will be an impossibility. It will be an impossibility because the wealth of the nation will be concentrated into the hands of a few." I pause to remark this condition today. Is it true or is it false? According to a prominent capitalist, Mr. Gerard, our one-time Ambassador to Germany, fifty-nine men rule this country. Among the fifty-nine he named was not one single statesman, not one politician; rather did he name a list of bankers and industrial magnates. This is concentration with a vengeance. Yet even this list has dwindled in the last two years. The mighty name of Insull has fallen and others are quivering on the brink of disaster.

James Madison went on to say: "A Republic cannot rest upon bayonets. When that time comes, when the wealth of the nation is in the hands of a few, then we must rely upon the wisdom of the best elements in society to change the laws of the nation to the changed conditions."

Which is the best element in so-

ciety, fellow workers? Our coal barons or cotton kings? Is it this new aristocracy that lives by owning or is it the useful class that with its labor, brain and brawn produces everything? The question answers itself. James Madison did not mean this class of degenerates who, like the patricians of decaying Rome, suffer from ennui and excess.

We are taught to believe that we are free. Of what does our freedom consist? Without access to the tools, the modern machine, we are helpless. We are in the same shape as a beaver would be without his tail, or the eagle without its beak. In order to have access to the machinery we must sell ourselves piecemeal to the owners of industry. In short, we are nothing more nor less than merchandise, like hogs, potatoes, buttons or anything else produced for the market. In their effort to conceal this fact the capitalists give an especial name to our price. They call it **WAGES**. Philology, the science of language, will aid me in clinching the point. What do we call the place where hogs are bought and sold, or wheat or cotton? Are not these places called the hog market, the wheat and cotton markets? Likewise with the place where we sell that peculiar commodity that resides in our blood, bone and muscle, we call it a **labor MARKET**. You are as familiar with the term as I. The capitalist speaks of the labor market being in good shape when there are many of us competing for jobs and our price or wage is low.

The amount of wealth that we produce has nothing to do with what we receive. Our wages go up or down according to the fluctuating of

the labor market. We, the American working class, receive the lowest wages in the world in relation to what we produce.

Daniel De Leon, the great American Socialist, said, "If I accuse John Jones of being a thief, I must bring proof. But if John Jones admits he is a thief, that is the best testimony possible . . . the testimony of a man against himself." Let us put capitalism in the witness stand. According to its own testimony, the workers produced more than ninety-four billions of dollars' worth of wealth in the peak year of the so-called prosperity era. During the same year our wages amounted to about fourteen billions. This is an admission of wholesale theft, legalized, but theft nevertheless. Furthermore, in the very best of times our wages amounted to a bare living wage—just what a horse gets.

It matters *not* whether a capitalist is filled with the milk of human kindness. He is forced to lower wages and adopt new machinery as quickly as it is invented or go down in the war of competition which he is constantly waging against other capitalists. We are passing through a period of semi-automatic machinery into a period of full-automatic machinery today. It was estimated by Mr. Howard Scott of the School of Industrial Engineering of Columbia University that if we were to turn out the same quantity of wealth as was created in 1929 only fifty-five percent of those of us employed today would have a job. There is a permanent army of unemployed today numbering many millions who will never again have a job under capitalism.

With such facts as these staring

us in the face, what worker will be so blind to his class interests as to vote for a party that aims at patching up capitalism, whether it be the "bigger bowl of soup affair" that blandly calls itself the Communist party, the utterly corrupt vote-catching machine of the Socialist party or either of the two out-and-out capitalist parties? It would be like redecorating and painting a building pronounced by engineers as unsafe and fit only to be condemned. The thing to do is to raze such a building to the ground and build a new one in its stead upon a new and sound foundation.

Will Rogers, who once said that if the American people could eat and digest the promises made them by politicians they'd be the fattest people on earth, made this observation about two months ago: "I didn't realize that election was so close 'til I read in the papers that 'both' political parties have some plan for relieving the unemployed. They have been unemployed for three years and no one has done anything about it, but now they've discovered that while the workers are not working, there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent them from voting. So Democratic leader 'Hooley' and Republican leader 'Baloney' said, 'Miss Secretary, we've got to do something about this. Reach into that bag and bring out some of those campaign promises. We'll dust 'em off and use 'em again this year. And don't forget, Miss Secretary, see the other side's promises and raise 'em two more.'"

We have been exchanging Hooley for Baloney and Baloney for Hooley so long that the capitalists think of us only as dupes or fish to be caught

upon bait. Nor are they alone in this attitude toward the working class. The so-called working class parties, misnamed the Socialist and Communist parties, have filled their platforms with baits ranging from unemployment insurance to tax issues, to catch the votes of small farmers and business men.

One of these reform parties likes to dangle the reform baits before our eyes with one hand and call itself r-r-r-revolutionary with the other. We call this the American comical party. Spy-led and capitalist-inspired, this organization spends its time in inciting demonstrations that not infrequently result in riots. When Bismarck was asked, "How are you going to fight Socialism?" he said, "Incite the workers to deeds of desperation and shoot them down." The Anarcho-Communist concern in America today is doing that very thing. You will note that it rushes in wherever there is trouble because there is good fishing in troubled waters. Fellow workers, noise is not revolution nor are noise-makers revolutionists. Such an affair is inspired to discredit and put a black eye on the genuine revolutionary movement, represented in America by the Socialist Labor Party.

Not long ago the burlesque bolsheviki of New York staged the usual march on the City Hall for bread (although any fool knows the City Hall is no bakery) and there they petitioned Mayor McKee for relief. Their spokesman reeled off several demands starting with, "We demand a \$100,000,000 cash relief for the starving workers. We demand free housing," etc. The mayor interrupted saying, "Why must you say 'demand'? Can't you say 're-

quest' once in a while?" But the point was lost on this pack of reformers.

A demand implies that you have a force to back you up. The opposite is true of a request. If a panhandler walks up to one of us and demands a quarter he is likely to receive a boot in his posterior. But if he has a gun to back up his demand we disobey at our peril. The Communist party has no force to back it up, unless you consider their stone-throwing brigades as a force. In all the numerous street battles staged through the kind cooperation of police and police commissioners of the Grover Whalen type, the Communists have not emerged once victorious.

If the working class takes the baits dangled by the reform parties we will be totally unprepared to seize the industries when the time is propitious. It is the reformer's job to run revolutionary ferment into the ground where it will be harmless to the interest of the propertied class.

At the outset today, I made the point that revolutions are not made, they come. They come because of certain contradictions within the old social order. Capitalism is filled with contradictions but we need concern ourselves with but one.

The thief must find a fence (a place that buys stolen property) for his loot. By the same token the capitalist class must find a fence, or a market, for the tremendous mass of values stolen from the working class. During that peak year when we produced ninety-four billions of dollars' worth of wealth the surplus value, that amount we were unable to buy with our fourteen billions in

wages, was eighty billions of dollars' worth of commodities.

This wealth was created, not for use, but for sale, that is, in order to fetch profits for the owners of the industries. You would never be wearing the shoes you have on your feet if you had not gone into a store and paid over two, five or ten dollars, as the case may be. The same is true of your suit, vacuum cleaner and automobile. Here is an example that will make the point clear. Suppose you were on the highway between Madison and Milwaukee. You are traveling Hoover style wearing out shoe leather. You see a bus plainly marked: "To Milwaukee." It is absolutely empty except for the driver and you hail it. Just when you get yourself comfortably settled the bus driver spoils it all. He asks you for your fare. "My fare!" you explain. "Yes, your fare, your money." "But I haven't any money." "Then you will have to walk." And the bus will go empty to Milwaukee while you continue Hoover style. Why? Because the bus was never made to ride in. It was made to collect fares on, to the end of yielding profits for the bus owners.

Eighty-four years ago Marx said that capitalism would pass through several crises until stricken with one so severe that there was no hope of revival. These crises have returned with cumulative intensity, but in the past, up to the crisis of 1914, new markets opened up to absorb the surplus. For the most part the capitalist nations developed peacefully side by side. When hunting is good and there are plenty of caribou, wolves are friendly toward one another. But when the big game

disappears and there is nothing but a poor rabbit left, these same wolves bare their fangs and leap at one another's throats. So it is with the capitalist nations. When the markets dwindle so they will not go around, the answer is war.

In 1914 nearly every capitalist nation on the face of the earth was burdened with a surplus of commodities, including a surplus of workingmen. The markets had all but disappeared. What were they to do? Germany had her finger in every plum pudding in the world. Germans had settled in the far corners of the earth, marrying natives and establishing outposts for German capitalism. She threatened to build a railroad from Berlin to Bagdad and encroach upon Britain's market in the east. There was only one thing to do. This thing was done and we witnessed the greatest holocaust and butchery the world has ever known. It took this mass destruction of goods and men to start the wheels of industry once more. Did you like *that* solution to the problem of unemployment and overproduction? Would you pay such a price once more to keep this wretched system in which there is not one good feature to be found? No! A most emphatic NO! Yet that is the only solution for capitalism today. Oh, it is true that peace treaties are signed, that world courts have been organized, that disarmament is the toy of all modern politicians. What does this mean? President Wilson was elected to office his second term on the implied promise that he would keep us out of war. The campaign slogan was, "He kept us out of war!" And hardly a month passed by after his sec-

ond inauguration before we were plunged into the fearful struggle with the rest. Peace treaties are scraps of paper to be broken when capitalist interests dictate and disarmament treaties are merely agreements that state we will use certain weapons in place of old and antiquated ones. They are much like the agreement made between duellists who decide upon swords, daggers or pistols.

If it is peace that they really want, why this feverish preparation for war? Why this training of thousands of young men in the schools? Why do they build air bombers and fighting planes by the hundreds? Are battleships and submarines made for pleasure cruises? The capitalists of this nation know they are not. They know a war is inevitable if capitalism is to have another breathing spell. President Wilson himself made the statement that everyone should know the war was simply one for markets.

You can well tremble at the thought of another war. Since the last one, machines have been invented for the destruction of life and property that terrify your imagination. Whole cities can be wiped out with poison gas. Civilization itself may go down to hurl us back into barbarism.

One thing that occurred in the last war makes our capitalists fear another. One nation torn to bits in the slaughter broke down entirely and the workers, taking advantage of the breakdown, established a government of their own. Before that many workers would say, "It can't be done. You could never get control. You could never run a country." They can say this no longer.

IT HAS BEEN DONE! It was done in Russia, a backward nation, if you please.

Still capitalism got a breathing spell in other nations. It is like a huge snake that entwines the world. You can amputate its tail and it continues to survive. But if you amputate its tail *right behind the ears* it is a goner. Such would be the case if the workers of America would organize to abolish wage slavery—a thing we are certain will have to be done ere long. That is the only way to prevent another war and save civilization.

The era of prosperity that culminated in 1929 was purely artificial. It was engineered by the expansion of credit. Our American capitalists said to other nations, "Take our goods. You don't need to pay us. Just give us your promise to pay." Commodities went out. Bonds and notes came back in return. In the domestic market hordes of salesmen were organized and trained. They came to us saying, "Take our electric vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, automobiles, furniture. Give us a dollar down and a dollar when we catch you but take them away." With the Wall Street crash and the end or limit of credit expansion all industrial expansion ceased. The outlet for the surplus stolen from the workers through expansion of industry was definitely closed.

With expansion at an end and the foreign markets gone, how are our capitalists going to dispose of the wealth that chokes the warehouses of this nation today? Some have suggested that it be wantonly destroyed. Attempts have been made here and there to start the wheels in this manner. In South America

800,000,000 bags of coffee have been dumped in the Atlantic Ocean. Grapes were destroyed in California, cotton in the South, and still the pile grows larger and larger, like a Frankenstein monster. Their efforts at destruction only serve to bring the attention of the working class to the absurd contradiction.

Large quantities of wheat were destroyed in Illinois, while in the great city of Chicago many of the teeming thousands of unemployed workers have turned scavenger in order to keep themselves alive. In the *Chicago News* of August 18 there appeared an article describing the villages of the unemployed that had sprung up on the fringe of Chicago's great garbage dumps. It is well to let the capitalists have the honor of describing the results of their own system, so I will quote a part of the lengthy article: "At 31st Street and Cicero Avenue, 'the old Shepard Clayhole,' dozens of huts are built just off the edge of what is said to be one of the largest private garbage dumps of any city in the country. Here the odors of decomposed scraps of former foodstuffs in such a penetrating nature that it pervades the place for some distance about like a low lying fog that will not lift.

"They (the inhabitants) hunt and pick among the garbage for what ever may be eaten as food, such as bread, potatoes, onions, meat and spoiled canned fruit and vegetables that have been dumped by grocery stores, wholesale houses and hotels."

It is unmanly, it is unwomanly, yes, it is inhuman to support or apologize for a system that reduces some of us to this wretched state, to

any wonder that the destruction of food reminds us of the degrading conditions suffered by the working class?

Capitalism is doomed. The surplus will destroy it. When the final crash comes will you, working men and women, know what to do? If not, listen well to the program for revolution of the Socialist Labor Party.

We believe in civilized methods. In America, due to the foresight of our ancestors, we have a right to amend the Constitution, yes even to the end of abolishing the Constitution. That right can be ignored only at the cost of the revolution itself. It makes it possible for us to put the issue up before the mass of the people, to talk about it in the broad open day. Furthermore, it affords us the opportunity to count noses. We want you to vote for the Socialist Labor Party, but only on condition that you are tired of, yes, sick to death of, capitalism. If you want higher taxes, lower taxes, beer, drink or bigger bowls of soup you will find a large selection of reforms in the platforms of each of the other parties to choose from. Our candidate for President is a workingman, a steamfitter, Verne L. Reynolds; our Vice Presidential candidate is a coal polisher, John W. Aiken; and our candidate for Governor is Joseph Ehrhardt, a plumber. These men personify the issue that stands so sharp and clear today. Shall we or shall we not, keep capitalism?

Now, we want you to vote for the Socialist Labor Party, but we are bound to admonish you that the revolutionary ballot, an instrument of liberation, is moonshine without the

might to back it up. Theoretically, it is possible to have a peaceful solution to the social question. We are assuming that the capitalist class is civilized, which it is not. It but wears the trappings of civilization. Underneath we find barbarians who do not hesitate to use violence against us. Time after time they've used the militia, police, and even the federal troops in breaking strikes. We have ourselves to blame. Every time we've had a chance to express ourselves at the ballot box we've voted for more capitalism and more bloody suppression. The armed forces of the state constitute the *force* organized by capitalism to back up the laws we have voted for, over ninety-five per cent of which are to protect private property. Without this force the laws *wouldn't* be worth the paper they are written on.

The revolution brings its own laws, new ones that deny the right of private property. These too must have a force to back them up. How shall we organize that force? Self-evidently the capitalists will not get off our back without a struggle. No ruling class ever does.

It is a Marxian axiom that every ruling class is forced to drill, train, organize and discipline the very forces that will overthrow it. The Czar was forced to organize and train an immense army. The capitalist class has been forced to organize, drill and discipline us into perfect human machines to turn out wealth. Organized together into Industrial Unions patterned after this human machine, we have a force and the only force capable of carrying out the mandate of the ballot. All the workers engaged, for example,

in the transportation industry, whether they work on the street cars, or railroad, whether they are office workers, telegraphers or switchmen—all belong in a Transportation Workers' Industrial Union. Likewise with every other industry. This union must be reared upon the principle of the class struggle with the goal of the Industrial Republic of Labor. It must be organized in such a way that power rests with the rank and file.

The old corrupt, faker-breeding, joint-contract concerns, such as the American Federation of Labor, in which we are organized to work for our masters and utterly disorganized to fight them, will never do. The *Wall Street Journal* was right when it labelled the craft unions the "greatest bulwark in America against Socialism."

Fellow workers, apply this principle of organization to your own industry. Whether you are employed or unemployed, picture in your own mind an Industrial Union of your industry. Do you see the mighty force inherent in such an organization? Its purpose is twofold: First, to take and hold the industries, not to strike, but to lock out the capitalist class; secondly, to run the industries and provide the producers with an abundance of the good things of life. The first purpose will emasculate the armed forces of the State. Without food, transportation, communication and all the other things required by armed bodies of men, they are helpless. All history teaches us that these will come to the side that can feed them.

The workers once organized, the task will be a simple one, for our

ruling class, raised to economic peerage through fraudulent fires, failures, and other forms of cheating, has not one single ounce of courage in it. It is a class of cowards who must not only hire their brains and muscle in the labor market but their armies too. The only thing that stands between us and our emancipation is the *idea* in our minds that the capitalists have a right to the ownership of the means of life. The revolution first takes place in our minds. Once that is accomplished, the rest will be easy.

Then we can have Socialism. It may be well to make the point that they do not have Socialism in Russia. They are working toward it though and working consciously. When their industries are socialized as ours are here, they will not need to struggle to take possession. In America, we can have Socialism the moment we want it. The "house is all built. We have only to move in."

Socialism does not mean government ownership as the Socialist party, named by one of its departing members, "A huge machine for lying about Socialism," would have us believe. What would be the difference if we worked for a bunch of capitalists or a bunch of politicians? The passing of this system marks the passing of the political government which is nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class. Representation from territory, where we send Senators from the various states and Congressmen from congressional districts, is obsolete, due to our industrial development. Industries will take the place of geographical areas. For example, instead of the State of Wisconsin, and the State of Illinois, we shall

have the Steel Workers' Industrial Union and an Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union. We will vote where we work and not where we sleep. We will elect our own foremen and superintendents and our national government, composed of representatives from the various industries, will decide questions relating to production. Statisticians will estimate the needs of the people and the information will be relayed to the various industries. "How many pairs of shoes do we need?" That information goes to the leather industry. "How many houses?" That goes to the building workers.

It was Daniel De Leon who discovered the idea of Industrial Government and Lenin of Russia paid tribute to him saying he was the only man to add to the science of Socialism since Karl Marx.

The aim of the Socialist Labor Party is destructive. It is to destroy the robberburg of capitalism, the Political State. Once this is accomplished, our Party disappears. Its mission is accomplished. On the contrary, the Industrial Union's aim is CONSTRUCTIVE. It is the framework of the future society and with the day of the Revolution it assumes the administrative garb of government.

If this message finds the ear of one who is willing to prepare himself to prepare others, get in touch with us. Get a pencil and paper and write down this address: National Headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party, 45, 4-5 Rose Street, R-O-S-E Street, New York City, N. Y. Ask for free literature and read it. And remember, if you accept these principles, to be honest to yourselves you are bound to accept the respon-

sibility that goes with them. Join our Party and give us your support in the noblest battle man has ever waged against oppression.

An abundance is producible because the material conditions are here and over-ripe. And when we are victorious and the machinery of production becomes social property, we can each of us enjoy the bountiful product of our labor. Then, and not until then, can we put a stop to involuntary starvation, war, prostitution and all the other concomitants of capitalism. We will be free because we own our own tools.

With the day of our emancipation looming before us, we of the fighting S. L. P. are happy.

"Who is it speaks of defeat?

I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know;
It is the power of powers."

Address by John W. Aiken, S.L.P.
Candidate for Vice President,
Over Station WEVD, New York
City, November 4, 1932.

Fellow Working Men and Women:

You will all recall the glorious promises that were made in 1928 by economists and politicians as to the future of economic conditions. We were told that the marvelous progress hitherto achieved was merely the beginning of a still more marvelous period in which millions of new homes were to be built, the capacity of railways increased, millions of electrical horsepower developed, more farm products grown, and thousands of factories constructed. Even after the so-called depression had settled over the country these predictions were con-

tinued in by those who were presumed to talk with authority. On the strength of these promises the majority of the people voted for Mr. Hoover for President.

We now know that these promises were merely "bunk," but many have not yet learned the lesson involved, that is, that men or groups of men under capitalism are helpless before the economic forces that are operating in the world; for it appears that the masses are again to be taken in by what the politicians promise to accomplish if elected to office. One and all of the other political parties are now promising that, if elected, they will initiate and enact laws making for the restoration of what is called prosperity. The Socialist Labor Party alone is saying that there can be no recovery, and any laws passed must be ineffective for the reason that the present system of society, capitalism, has reached that point in its development where unemployment on a gigantic scale has become a permanent condition and from which there can be no relief as long as this system is permitted to endure. We lay the blame for the present situation at the door of capitalism. It must be destroyed through the power of Socialist Industrial Unions, these unions then to assume the administration of production, make the industries the property of the workers, thus enabling them to secure the full product of their labor. This is the only way out because, under capitalism, the capacity to produce has outstripped the ability to consume the products produced, consequently unemployment and the starvation and misery resulting from it remain

as a chronic condition under capitalism.

So long as capitalist industry was not widespread, though it was sure to experience periodic breakdowns with attendant unemployment, falling prices, bankruptcies, and a surplus of goods on the market in the midst of which millions would starve, it could, in the course of time, work itself out of the crisis, the stock of goods could gradually be consumed and industry could again resume its mad race, only again to be compelled to shut down. But so great is the capacity of production today, and the consuming power of the masses so small, relatively, and so shrunken are the opportunities now prevailing at home and abroad for the expansion of industry through the sale of surplus commodities and the investment of capital on a profitable basis, that the industries of the nation can never be brought to the point where sufficient work can be provided to keep the workers employed. Now the time has come to get rid of capitalism, for it stands in the way of the masses' enjoying the things they have created in such an abundance. The present crisis was not the result of legislation nor of a conspiracy of the rich, but rather the result of the competitive motive that came into existence with capitalism more than a century and a half ago. And by the same token the depression cannot be got rid of except by abolishing capitalism.

A moment's reflection on some of the recent economic changes that have taken place, particularly in the last decade, should convince the most sceptical that the nature and magnitude of the present crisis ren-

der it impossible for the capitalist class and its political puppets to devise ways of stabilizing the system. Until the truth of this is appreciated the workers need expect nothing but constant want or fear of want.

Unquestionably the historian of the future will date the beginning of the end of capitalism from the end of the World War, for the necessities of that conflict brought to a head more rapidly than would have occurred otherwise the contradictions involved in the mechanism of capitalism. The alleged reason for the war was to make the world safe for democracy through the destruction of the German Empire as a world power. To a large extent that destruction was accomplished, but the victory has turned to ashes in the hands of the victors. For "the war to end war" resulted in the economic demoralization of victors and vanquished alike. The problem of the post-war period was and is: How can the so-called intergovernmental debts be paid? Obviously, only by the debtor countries developing their industries so that they might get a large share of the world's trade. This was done to a large extent through foreign loans, resulting in the limitation of opportunities for the disposal of surplus commodities. The development along these lines has really been phenomenal since the war. The effect, in brief, was a contraction of the world's market. There are now no nations of consequence that represent areas for the sale of the surplus products of the advanced nations. Russia, India, China, because of new forms of government or revolutions now going on, are, and must continue to be for many

years, closed, on a large scale, to foreign trade and capital. Thus were eliminated possible outlets for recovery through the expansion of capitalism abroad.

Though tremendous progress was made by the European nations along the lines of mass production, it was as nothing compared with that of the United States. The development in this country and its effect on the working class can best be realized by a few figures. We are informed by federal authority that in the five-year period from 1922-1927 about two million wage workers were eliminated from the transportation and production industries (not including the railway shopmen) and approximately 800,000 from agriculture. Yet in spite of the elimination of these workers during that five-year period, the value and volume of manufactured products increased, the railways carried more freight and passengers, and the value of agricultural products increased. Undoubtedly, these statistics do not indicate the entire number of workers displaced. And remember that this process has continued from 1927 to this very day. The fact is the depression has led manufacturers and other employers of labor still further to cut down what they call their cost of production through the introduction and improvement of labor-saving devices. Do you wonder in view of these facts that there are so many unable to find work even in the best of times?

Despite the productivity of labor, the workers have been getting an ever smaller share of the value they have produced. In 1923, the total value of manufactured products was

\$60,529,574,115 while the total wages paid in those same industries was \$11,007,851,450; whereas in 1929 the value of products was \$69,417,515,929 and the total wages \$11,421,631,054. That is, in six years the value of products had increased nearly 9 billion dollars while wages had increased only about 500 million. This means that the worker could buy less of what was produced in 1929 than he could buy of what was produced in 1923. And this has been the trend ever since the introduction of machine production.

This process cannot be stopped, and it is impossible to go back to an earlier period when there were few machines. We must make these machines our servants instead of being controlled by them. Machinery today is a curse to the working class, but only because it is privately owned and the workers thereby reduced to a position of dependence upon the few who own that and all the other wealth of the country; and dependence upon another man has been the characteristic of slavery throughout the ages. No longer are we free and independent as were most of the people in the early days of this country. Speaking of that early period and looking into the future, James Madison, fourth President of the United States, said: "We are free today substantially; but the day will come when our Republic will be an impossibility. It will be an impossibility because wealth will become concentrated in the hands of a few. A Republic cannot exist upon bayonets; and when that day comes, when the wealth of the nation is in the hands of a few, then we must rely upon

the wisdom of the best elements of the country to readjust the laws of the nation to the changed conditions."

The day foreseen by Madison is now here, and the best element in society, and the only element whose material interests demand that the wealth of the few be turned back to its producers, is the working class. The performance of this act implies a revolution, to be sure, but not a violent and bloody one. The Socialist Labor Party believes that properly organized the working class can bring about this change without resorting to violent methods. Indeed, we go further and say that if the workers do resort to violence it will mean a crushing defeat from which they would not recover for some time. To insure success, the useful producers must organize into Socialist Industrial Unions for the purpose of taking and holding the industries of the country. This is the force, the might, the revolutionary weapon of the wage workers against which reactionary movements would be powerless. Organized in this way the working class would control the entire nation. After having taken over the industries these unions would form the administrative organs of society. Representation would be by industries rather than from geographical districts as prevails today under political society. Pending the organization of such Industrial Unions, the Socialist Labor Party is their recruiting agency. Socialism, as a form of society, is industrial, not political, so do not be confused by those so-called Socialists who advocate political control as the goal for the workers to attain.

In this country we have the right to advocate and organize for the abolition of the present form of government, because the founders of this government recognized the transitory nature of governments, that in the course of time a government becomes destructive to life, liberty, and happiness, and has to be overthrown and a new one established to conform to the altered conditions. Knowing this, the revolutionary forefathers provided in the law of the land the opportunity for the overthrow of the government which they had set up. We would indeed be foolish to reject this chance for the peaceful solution of the revolution.

The only class directly interested, because materially concerned, in bringing about the new form of government, is the working class, and the workers must therefore depend on themselves alone. Compelled even in the best of times to live from hand to mouth, robbed of the greatest part of the wealth they create, unemployed on an ever increasing scale, their salvation lies only through the organization of Socialist Industrial Unions, prepared and disciplined to carry on production for their own benefit. Doses and charity, already threatening the solvency of municipal and national governments; unemployment insurance, balancing of budgets, public works programs, government ownership, repeal or modification of the Eighteenth Amendment—all these and many other so-called issues raised in this campaign and designed to reform a system cracking in every joint, are ineffective (even if possible of realization) in preventing the steady and certain col-

lapse of capitalism. Beware of those who say that conditions can be made livable for the workers under capitalism. That day has gone by. Prepare and organize to establish Socialism where all will receive the full product of their labor and be enabled to enjoy the plenty that modern science applied to production has made possible.

To sum up, the present crisis is the culminating point in the development of the capitalist system, and marks the beginning of a new epoch in human existence. Laissez faire and the profit motive, unrestricted exploitation of labor and of natural resources, resulted in mass production, and thus made it possible to solve the age-old problem of mankind—plenty for all. This has been the crowning achievement of capitalism, but in having accomplished this task it has at the same time brought into existence the causes making for its own destruction; for though modern machinery has made possible plenty for all, it has also produced the paradoxical situation that in the midst of this plenty millions starve. Plan as they might, legislate as they please, the upholders of the present system are helpless. They cannot solve this problem within the framework of the existing system. The productive forces, long running wild, must be made the possession of all rather than of the few. This is the task of the working class. Organized on the political field in the Socialist Labor Party to establish the right to take over the industries, organized into Socialist Industrial Unions on the economic field to back up the right thus established, the workers are assured of victory.

A vote for the Socialist Labor Party is a vote for freedom from the misery of wage slavery. A vote for any other political party is a vote to fasten more firmly the chains holding the workers to the present system. Capitalism must be destroyed, says the Socialist Labor Party, and all power to the Socialist Industrial Unions, the government of the future.

Take your pen or pencil and write the address of our headquarters. Ask for a copy of the newspaper we publish, the Party's platform and the letters of acceptance of both myself and our Presidential candidate, Verne L. Reynolds. And if you desire to learn more about our program and organization, come to the Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, Saturday night, where our candidate for President and myself and others will speak. The address of the Socialist Labor Party is 45 Rose Street, R-O-S-E Street, New York City.

Good night.

*Address by Verne L. Reynolds,
S.L.P. Candidate for President,
Over Station WEVD, New York
City, November 5, 1932.*

Good afternoon, fellow working men and women:

If there are any small-business folks listening in, you are heartily welcome to hear the voice of the Socialist Labor Party, the revolutionary party of the working class of America. You see, you will soon be working men and working women. You too are gripped by economic law, and no politicians, whatever

their stamp, will be able to save you. If you already realize the truth of this statement, the program of revolution which follows will be of as much interest to you as to the "vast majority" who are already in our ranks—already dispossessed of all means of production, all means of life itself, and forced to peddle either their brains or muscle as merchandise in the "labor market" to an idle, parasite class in order to exist.

The Socialist Labor Party desires not to patch up capitalism in any way—but to be entirely rid of it. We are after a brand new form of government that will work in the interests of all the people who will do their share of the useful work. Politicians, working through the present form of government, are powerless to accomplish such ends. All history shows that a revolutionary class must build something—something powerful enough to overthrow the class above it—before freedom from that class is possible. For an illustration, the Russian workers and peasants had first to build Soviets before a "Soviet Government" was possible. Over here, we had first to build a "Continental Congress" (two years before the Declaration of Independence was signed) before our Republic was possible. In each instance the new structure, once built, became the new government—the only government. The very foundation of Socialism in any industrial country is Industrial Unionism.

I am speaking over Radio Station WEVD, named after Eugene V. Debs, a man who grasped the truth of the above statement. He was a most ardent advocate of revolution

ary Industrial Unionism. He saw in it a government of man over industry rather than of man over man. He was outspoken in his criticism of crafts or "trades" unionism, the antiquated form operative today as when he lived. Like the Socialist Labor Party, he bitterly fought the American Federation of Labor and all kindred bodies. I shall quote from him quite extensively this afternoon to show that he thoroughly agreed with the Socialist Labor Party, both as to the powerlessness of politicians and the powerfulness of Industrial Unionism. Listen now to the words of Debs in a lecture at the old Grand Central Palace on December 10, 1905. The entire lecture can be obtained in pamphlet form if you will write down the address of our headquarters which will be given at the close of my talk. I now quote Eugene Debs:

"The old union movement is not only organized upon the basis of the identity of interests of the exploited and exploiting classes, but it divides instead of uniting the workers, and there are thousands of unions, more or less in conflict, used against one another; and so long as these countless unions occupy the field, there will be no substantial unity of the working class....

"The American Federation of Labor does not learn by experience. They recently held their annual convention, and they passed the same old stereotyped resolutions; they are going to petition Congress to restrict the power of the courts; that is to say, they are going to once more petition a capitalist Congress to restrict the power of capitalist courts. That is as if a flock of sheep were to petition a lot of

wolves to extract their own fangs. They have passed these resolutions over and over again. They have been totally fruitless and they will continue to be....

"If the American Federation of Labor were not in alliance with the capitalist class, the capitalist press would not pour its fulsome eulogy upon it."

That is pretty strong language, but none too strong, for it was, and still is, the truth, and none knew this better than Eugene V. Debs. On the other hand, listen to what he proposed in place of the capitalist unionism which he so unsparingly condemned:

"The representatives of Industrial Unionism come in your presence to tell you that there can be no peace between you, the working class, and the capitalist class who exploit you of what you produce; that as workers, you have economic interests apart from and opposed to their interests, and that you must organize by and for yourselves; and that if you are intelligent enough to understand these interests, you will sever your relations with the old unions in which you are divided and sub-divided, and join the Industrial Union in which all are organized and united upon the basis of the class struggle.

"The Industrial Union is organized, not to conciliate, but to fight the capitalist class. We have no object in concealing any part of our mission; we would have it perfectly understood. We deny that there is anything in common between workingmen and capitalists. We insist that workingmen must organize to get rid of capitalists and make themselves the masters of the tools

with which they work, freely employ themselves, secure to themselves all they produce, and enjoy to the full the fruit of their labors."

And Debs continued to explain why it had been possible for the capitalist masters to keep the working class in bondage, chiefly, he argued, because the workers were kept divided. Listen to him and heed him:

"The capitalist politician and the labor lieutenant have always contrived to keep the working class divided, upon the economic field and upon the political field; and the workers have made no progress, and never will until they desert those false leaders and unite beneath the revolutionary standard of the Industrial Union....

"It is a very important thing to develop the economic power, to have a sound economic organization. This has been the inherent weakness in the labor movement of the United States. We need, and sorely need, a revolutionary economic organization. We must develop this kind of strength; it is the kind that we will have occasion to use in due time, and it is the kind that will not fail us when the crisis comes. So we shall organize and continue to organize the political field; and I am of those that believe that the day is near at hand when we shall have one great revolutionary economic organization of the working class and one great revolutionary political party of the working class. Then will proceed with increased impetus the work of education and organization that will culminate in emancipation.

"This great body will sweep into power and seize the reins of gov-

ernment; take possession of industry in the name of the working class, and it can be easily done. All that will be required will be to transfer the title from the parasites to the producers; and then the working class, in control of industry, will operate it for the benefit of all."

This is what Debs advocated, and it is what the Socialist Labor Party advocated before Debs, and it is what the Socialist Labor Party advocates today—Industrial Unionism to replace the present antiquated craft unions. When the working class secures power (and they'll never do that without Industrial Unions), these Industrial Unions will become the governing bodies of the Socialist Industrial Commonwealth, under which you won't be able to discover a trace of the Political State, and politicians will be as scarce as polar bears at the equator.

The founder of this Industrial Union movement, the man who formulated the principles and helped to build the structure of the first Industrial Union in this country, was Daniel De Leon, the greatest Marxian scientist since Marx himself. Though De Leon and Debs found themselves in opposing political camps, they found common ground on the Industrial Union question. It is to the credit of Debs that he did not hesitate to speak out against his own party associates when he found it necessary to do so. Thus in the Socialist party paper, *The Worker*, of July 28, 1906, Debs said:

"It may be that De Leon has designs upon the Socialist party and expects to use the Industrial Union as a means of disrupting it in the interest of the Socialist Labor Party, and if he succeeds it will be be-

cause his enemies in the Socialist party, in their bitter personal hostility to him, are led to oppose the revolutionary Industrial Union and support the reactionary A. F. of L....."

And a few years later, in the *Appeal to Reason*, April 20, 1912, he paid this tribute to the Socialist Labor Party:

"It is foolish to say that the Socialist Labor Party is dead. It is not dead, and for my part I do not want to see it die.... As a rule they are sound in their economics, and they are honest, even if they are inclined to be fanatical....

"In days past no one was more bitterly assailed by the S. L. P. than myself. But I also learned from its press and its speakers. Many of my early lessons in Socialist economics were taught me by that little 'bunch of fanatics,' and I am not in the least ashamed to admit it....

"I can never forget that little band of valiant comrades—frenzied fanatics if you please, but still of the stuff out of which revolutions are made. For years they were a mere handful, and yet they fought as if they had legions behind them. Bluntly they upheld the red banner in the face of an indifferent or hostile world—and this, years before some of those who now scoff at them had shed their bourgeois pollen. There are not many of them, but few as they are, they have the backbone to stand alone. There are no trimmers or traders among them."

Realizing that Industrial Unionism was the important thing, Debs had little patience with the pure and simple politician, or with reformers and reforms generally, though truth

compels the admission that he was not always consistent in these respects.

When he was notified of his nomination for President in 1920, he said, in his speech of acceptance:

"I must be perfectly frank with you. I have read the platform adopted by the convention, and I wish I might say that it had my unqualified approval but I believe that it could have been made more effective if it had stressed the class struggle more prominently and if more emphasis had been laid on industrial organization. I do not believe in captious criticism, but I want to be frank with you and state my position.... There is a tendency in the party to become a party of politicians instead of a party of the workers.... Some members of the party in the past have been admitted to make us respectable. This was true years ago in Haverhill, Brockton and other cities. They were unfortunate incidents."

I do not intend here to go into the questions which prompted Debs to accept a platform which he criticized so severely—as severely as he excoriated his party associates. I have not the time nor is this the occasion for it.

I have reminded my listeners of these facts relating to Debs, partly in recognition of my speaking over the station named after him, but also because they have helped me to convey to you just what the Socialist Labor Party stands for. We declare that capitalism has run its course, that it is very sick, in fact, dying, and that it's no use trying to save the patient even if he were worth saving. A system that is dying, and which should be ended,

cannot and should not be mended. Reforms are as foolish as they are futile. I go farther than that and denounce advocacy of reforms and palliatives as a crime against the working class. He who urges reforms at this stage urges preservation of capitalism. You cannot escape the simple logic of this. Neither unemployment insurance, tax reduction, "controlled inflation of currency," nor any of the multitudinous capitalist remedies proposed—and they remain capitalist remedies no matter how much they may be labelled Socialist or Communist—none of these are of any use to the workers at this stage. Nor are such questions as the "capital levy" of any concern to the workers while being exploited under capitalism. And the working class could not if it would, and should not if it could, "buy out" the capitalist class. To talk about giving the capitalist bonds in payment of the industries is equivalent to proposing perpetual bondage to the working class. If those who make this proposal do so in honesty and sincerity, they thereby prove themselves visionaries, for the workers, under this plan, instead of taking the industries and the land from the capitalist class and restoring them to themselves, the working class producers, give the capi-

talist class a renewed title to the industries, with this difference only, that the Political State will see to it that the workers continue to sweat profit for the benefit of a group of bondholders who then would not even have to pretend that they were directing industry. If the proposal is not made honestly and sincerely, it is unworthy of honest men. The capitalist class in any case cannot be fooled; but the workers would be tricked and defrauded. It is well to remember the warning of Marx that society cannot be revolutionized behind its back.

I appeal to you to study the principles and forms of organization which we advocate. If you agree with us, cast your ballot under the Arm and Hammer. Send for free sample copies of our official organ, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and send also for free literature to this address: Socialist Labor Party, 45 Rose Street, New York. And in conclusion, let me say that those who are interested in learning more about the things touched upon in this talk, are invited to come to the Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd St., this evening at 8 o'clock, where I, as Presidential candidate on the Socialist Labor Party ticket, will be the principal speaker. See you all at Town Hall tonight!

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Aim of the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor Party never relents in its efforts to help bring about the emancipation of the working class from economic slavery. It points out the existence of two classes: The capitalist class, which owns everything worth owning, and which does not contribute one iota of wealth to society, and the working class, which produces all the social wealth existing, a class which carries our entire civilization on its shoulders, and which owns absolutely nothing worth owning, nothing but its LABOR POWER, which is bought and sold in the market along with other merchandise. Against such a social system the Socialist Labor Party raises its voice in emphatic protest. It demands that the ownership and control of the socially operated tools of production be turned over to the industrially organized working class. Social evolution decrees that the Political State (government based on territory) must go, and that in its place there must be established the Industrial Union Government of, by and for the workers, that is, government based on industry instead of territory.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,

45 Rose St., New York, N.Y.

S. L. P. ORGANS.

English.

WEEKLY PEOPLE, 45 Rose St.,
New York, N.Y., per year \$2.00

(Members of the Party are referred
to Art. II, Sect. 20, Party constitution.)

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RADNICKA BORBA, South Slavonian
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The foreign language press of the S.L.P. performs a very special and necessary function. Its chief object is to reach the foreign wage workers in the language they speak and understand. Members and sympathizers should direct the attention of their foreign fellow workers or friends to one of the above papers. Have all subscriptions sent to the address given.

ERRATUM.

On page 9, column two, second line, after "Motion carried," there should appear: (See Appendix D.)

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 1932

CALIFORNIA	..... not counted
COLORADO	..... 427
CONNECTICUT	..... 2287
ILLINOIS	..... 3638
INDIANA	..... 2070
KENTUCKY	..... 1396
MAINE	..... 255
MARYLAND	..... 1036
MASSACHUSETTS	..... 2668
MICHIGAN	..... 1401
MINNESOTA	..... 770
MISSOURI	..... 404
NEW JERSEY	..... 1062
NEW YORK	..... 10839
OHIO	..... 1968
OREGON	..... 1730
PENNSYLVANIA	..... 659
RHODE ISLAND	..... 360
WASHINGTON	..... 1009
WISCONSIN	..... 494
TOTAL	..... 33973

Nineteenth National Convention Socialist Labor Party

April 25—April 28, 1936

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
61 Cliff Street
New York, N.Y.